STANISLAUS AUGUSTUS KING OF POLAND
PAUL PETROVITCH EMPEROR
PRINCESS DASCHKOFF
PRINCE GREGOREY ALEXANDROVITCH POTEMKIN
PRINCE GREGOREY GREGORIEVITCH ORLOFF

THE

LIFE

OF

CATHARINE II.

EMPRESS OF RUSSIA.

AN ENLARGED TRANSLATION FROM THE FRENCH.

WITH SEVEN PORTRAITS ELEGANTLY ENGRAVED, AND A CORRECT MAP OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE.

Nihil compositum miraculi causâ, verùm audita scriptaque senioribus tradam. TACIT. Ann. lib. xi.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

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1798.

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THE TAKHOORE MAHARANI ... SARASWATI MAHAL

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LIFE

OF THE

EMPRESS CATHARINE II.

CHAP. IV.

State of Poland from the time of the kings of the first race to the death of Augustus III. —Election of prince Poniatofsky.—Fresh conspiracy at St. Petersburg.—Journey of the empress into Livonia.—Assassination of prince Ivan in the castle of Schlusselburg.—Punishment of Mirovitch, and other events of 1763, 1764, &c.

POLAND, which had sometimes acted so conspicuous a part in the politics of Europe, and which, from the extent of its territory, the fertility of its soil, the high spirit and courage of its inhabitants, seemed formed for acquiring a still greater preponderance, has lost, by the defects

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARA...

of its government, a part of the advantages it had received from nature.

This kingdom had long been under the influence of Ruſſia; and that influence had become the more powerful under Catharine, as, independently of the army of Romantzoff, encamped on the banks of the Viſtula, 50,000 men had taken up their quarters in Livonia, Eſthonia, and Courland. Auguſtus III. declining in his health, as well from the irregularities of his life as from the vexation occaſioned him by the invaſion of Saxony, was now verging faſt to the grave. All ſuch as had formed pretenſions to the ſucceſſion, accordingly began to examine their ſtrength; and the court of Peterſburg was the centre of their intrigues. The aſpiring mind of Catharine was flattered at ſeeing herſelf the arbiter of theſe ambitious rivals. But, while ſhe thought proper to foment their diviſions and to encourage their hopes, ſhe was ſecretly decided in her choice. She was in want of a king, whoſe weakneſs and ſervility ſhe knew: ſhe made choice of Poniatofsky.

It will not be uſeleſs here to caſt an eye upon the ſtate of that rich and unhappy country, which we ſhall ſee more than once exciting the ambition of Catharine, and which ſhe long con-

tinued

tinued to harafs, the better to prepare it for being ufurped.

The hiftory of Poland, like that of almoft all the other countries of Europe, reaches back to an æra extremely remote, and filled with uncertainty. All that we know with tolerable precifion is, that Poland at firft was governed by a race of kings *, whofe power was nearly abfolute. To this race fucceeded the Piafts, who are thought to have been elective, but who, for feveral generations, preferved the crown in their family. The kingdom was frequently difturbed by the pretenfions of the magnats, who combined againft the monarch, and oppofed to him a power which balanced that of the crown.

One of the laft kings of the race of the Piafts, Cafimir III. furnamed the great, or the father of the peafantry, repreffed the dangerous and always turbulent authority of the grandees, by conferring a variety of privileges on the inferior nobleffe, and by that means alarming them with a dangerous rivalfhip. But that prince, however addicted to juftice, and how great foever his concern in behalf of the unhappy peafants, was never able to mitigate the barbarous lot to which they are doomed in Poland.

* The race of Lefko.

Lewis of Hungary, nephew and ſucceſſor of Caſimir, was not in a capacity to benefit by the advantages that monarch had acquired, becauſe, on beſtowing on him the crown, the nobility obliged him to ſubſcribe to burdenſome conditions. On the death of Lewis, without leaving a male heir, that turbulent nobility made an offer of the throne to Ladiſlaus Yagellon, duke of Lithuania, and impoſed on him the ſame conditions as had been accepted by Lewis. One of theſe conditions was, not to raiſe ſubſidies without the conſent of the diets. His ſucceſſors were, equally with him, forced to be continually making new ſacrifices for obtaining the impoſts that were neceſſary to their government; and Sigiſmond Auguſtus was at length induced to conſent *, that at his death the crown ſhould become abſolutely elective. This prince, who had no ſon, was without difficulty brought to agree to make a declaration, by which he purchaſed his repoſe. In a ſhort time afterwards a charter was framed †, which became the baſis and guarantee of that privilege. The four principal articles of the charter were:

* In the year 1550.

† Known under the name of *Pacta conventa*.

1. That

1. That the crown ſhould be elective; and that the king ſhould never appoint a ſucceſſor during his lifetime.

2. That general diets ſhould be aſſembled every two years.

3. That every nobleman of Poland ſhould have the right of voting at the election of a king.

4. That if the king ſhall preſume to infringe the laws, and to diſavow the privileges of the nation*, the ſubjects ſhall be abſolved from their oath of allegiance.

The privileges ſecured by this charter were ſtill farther extended; and all the ſucceſſors of Sigiſmond Auguſtus down to Staniſlaus Poniatofsky incluſively, were only elected upon their ſwearing to maintain them. Could leſs then be expected from princes who received the crown as a matter of favour, and who, if they had not accepted it on theſe conditions, would have been obliged to forego it in favour of a leſs ſcrupulous competitor? The nobles, the more they increaſed their power, abuſed it the more. Not contented with freely granting their ſuffrages, they ſold them. Henry de Valois was the firſt who purchaſed, by means of promiſes and gold,

* That is to ſay, of the nobles; for the reſt is counted for nothing.

the throne of the Yagellons; means which have ſince only yielded to the terror of arms.

On every acceſſion to the throne the nobility uſurped ſome additional privilege. During the reign of John Caſimir, the *liberum veto* was created. This was a right given to each nobleman ſingly to put a ſtop to the deliberation of a whole diet, and to diſſolve it by the ſole act of his will; a right which has been one of the principal ſources of the troubles, the anarchy, and the total deſtruction of Poland.

But by ſuch an extent of power as every nobleman had, we may form a judgment of that enjoyed by the palatines*, the great officers, and, in general, all the wealthy Poles. Some-

* In Poland are 32 palatines, who are properly governors of provinces, 3 caſtellans, and 1 ſtaroſt. Though the quality of the two latter be inferior to that of a palatine, yet there are four of them who poſſeſs the firſt ranks amongſt the temporal nobles, the caſtellan of Cracow being the firſt of all. The office of a palatine is to lead the troops of his palatinate to the army; to preſide in the aſſemblies of the nobility in his province; to ſet a price upon merchandizes and commodities; to take care that the weights and meaſures be not altered; and to judge and defend the jews. He has a vice-palatine under him, who muſt take an oath to him, and who ought to have an eſtate in land, which they call *poſſeſſionatus*. To theſe follow the order of nobility, who are alone capable of poſſeſſing all the offices and lands in the duchy and kingdom.

times

times they raiſed regiments independent on the authority of the king; at other times they formed confederacies, which, under pretence of defending the laws, ſowed ſedition and revolt, and in the ſacred name of liberty exerciſed the abſurdeſt tyranny.

It is the blind ambition of the poliſh nobles that has been for 300 years gradually conſummating the ruin of their country. That nation, naturally brave, which has often conquered the Ottomans, and which has given law to Pruſſia and to Ruſſia, has not been able, ſince theſe diſſentions, to reſiſt any of the armies by which it has been attacked. The forces of the kings of Sweden, Charles Guſtavus and Charles XII. alternately found it an eaſy prey; and from the moment that the Ruſſians were able to oppoſe diſciplined troops to its brilliant and licentious poſpolite, they have found themſelves in a capacity to dictate laws to the nation.

Under ſuch circumſtances the Poles called themſelves free. But what ſort of a freedom was that they enjoyed, even while they were exerciſing the boaſted right of electing their kings? The age in which we live has produced examples to the contrary; and one * of the men

* Sarniſky.

who beſt underſtood their hiſtory, has defied them to ſhew but two inſtances of a free election.

There is ſcarcely a great potentate in Europe that has not had more or leſs influence in theſe elections: but for upwards of fifty years Ruſſia has been the only power by which they have been actually directed.

Such was the ſituation of Poland when the death of Auguſtus III.* revived the cabals of the pretenders to the throne, and furniſhed Catharine the means of diſplaying her political talents with the utmoſt effect. That ſovereign, whom the courts of Vienna and Verſailles were in hopes of detaching from Pruſſia, began their operations by artfully obtaining from thoſe courts an aſſurance that they would not interfere in the affairs of Poland. In 1764, the marquis de Paulmy, ambaſſador from France at Warſaw, declared† at the diet, that Lewis XV. would have nothing to do in the election of the new king; and ſhortly after the count de Mercy held the ſame language on the part of Maria Thereſa.

The promiſe of theſe two courts, however, was not ſufficient for Catharine. She was deſi-

* The 5th of October, 1763. † The 16th of March.

rous of ſome aſſurance that ſhe ſhould not be thwarted by that of Berlin: in this ſhe ſucceeded. Frederic had long been ſoliciting her to ſign a treaty of defenſive alliance; and ſhe coveted it the more as ſhe had employed ſo much art in inducing him to deſire it. Imagining that the delays which ſhe made to the concluſion of this buſineſs, aroſe only from the repugnance ſhe had to a miniſter * who had been the friend of her huſband, the pruſſian monarch made choice of a plenipotentiary who ſhould neceſſarily be more agreeable to that princeſs: he ſent to St. Peterſburg the count of Solms, who had married a princeſs of Anhalt-Bernburg, couſin-german to Catharine. The count de Solms was extremely well received by the empreſs, with whom he ſhortly after, in the name of the king of Pruſſia, concluded a treaty, ſubjoined to which was the ſecret article as follows:

" It being for the intereſt of his majeſty the king of " Pruſſia and of her majeſty the empreſs of all the Ruſſias, " to exert their utmoſt care and all their efforts for main- " taining the republic of Poland in its ſtate of free election, " and that it ſhould not be permitted to any one to render " the ſaid kingdom hereditary in his family, or to make " himſelf abſolute therein; his majeſty the king of Pruſſia " and her imperial majeſty have promiſed and mutually en- " gage themſelves, in the moſt ſolemn manner, by this

* The baron de Goltz.

" ſecret

"secret article, not only not to permit any one, whoever "he be, to attempt to divest the republic of its right of "free election, to render the kingdom hereditary, or to "make himself absolute therein, in all cases whenever such "attempt should be made; but also to prevent and to frus-"trate, by all possible means, and in common consent, the "views and designs that have a tendency to that end, as "soon as they shall be discovered, and even, in case of ne-"cessity, to recur to the force of arms, to defend the re-"public from the overthrow of its constitution and its "fundamental laws.

"The present secret article shall have the same force and "vigour as if it had been inserted word for word in the "principal treaty of defensive alliance signed this day, and "shall be ratified at the same time.

"In virtue whereof two similar copies of it have been "made, which we, the ministers plenipotentiary of his "majesty the king of Prussia, and of her majesty the em-"press of all the Russias, authorized to that purpose, have "signed and sealed with the seal of our arms.

"Done at St. Petersburg, the 11th of April (the "31st of March O. S.) 1764.

"C. DE SOLMS. PANIN. GALLITZIN."

The new sovereign of Saxony, who flattered himself with the prospect of inheriting the throne of Augustus III. as he had inherited his electorate, addressed himself to the empress, to prevail upon her to approve his pretensions: but she made no hesitation to deprive him of all hope. She wrote to him, "That she advised him, as "a true friend, not to expose his interests in "an

"an affair which in the iſſue could not anſwer "his expectations."

Conſcious of her power in Poland, Catharine diſmiſſed, one after another, the candidates who were not agreeable to her, without, however, giving any intimation as yet concerning the perſon whom ſhe intended to favour. The greater number of the Poles were for electing a Piaſt, a deſcendant of their ancient kings. Catharine alſo for ſome time appeared to be of the ſame ſentiment. But all at once it was heard with amazement at Warſaw, that it was count Poniatofsky whom that monarch had deſtined to the throne. This choice excited an almoſt univerſal diſcontent and violent murmurs. The poliſh magnats, incenſed at the proſpect of being governed by a young man* of a birth not very illuſtrious, and whoſe elevation was neither juſtified by ſhining actions nor extraordinary virtues, reciprocally interrogated one another, what ſervices count Poniatofsky had rendered the republic, for obtaining ſo glorious a reward?

Count Poniatofsky was endowed with thoſe qualities which are more adapted to conciliate the friendſhip of particular perſons, than to fit him for ſwaying a ſceptre. Tall, well-made, of a figure at once commanding and agreeable, he

* He was at that time 32 years of age.

ſpoke

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ſpoke and wrote with fluency the ſeven principal languages of Europe, and in a graceful diction: but he poſſeſſed only a ſlight knowledge of affairs. His eloquence was vague and deſultory, his preſumption too apparent. Rather weak than gentle, rather prodigal than generous, he might eaſily miſlead women, and dazzle a thoughtleſs multitude, but not perſuade men of cultivated minds. He was doubtleſs fitter to ſubmit to be governed than to govern himſelf. Nevertheleſs, ſupported by the influence and arms of Ruſſia, and having no obſtacle to fear on the part of other powers, his triumph was not long in ſuſpenſe. The conſequence of Catharine was involved in this triumph. That princeſs ſet ſo great a value on ſeeing the crown of the Sarmates on the brow of her former favourite, that ſhe wrote without delay to count Kayſerling, her ambaſſador at Warſaw, to employ every means in behalf of Poniatoſky. One of her letters was intercepted, and contained the following words:—"Mon cher comte, ſouvenez-vous de mon candidat. Je vous écris "ceci deux heures après minuit: jugez ſi la "choſe m'eſt indifférente *!"

* "My dear count, remember my candidate. I write "this to you at two o'clock in the morning; judge whether "I am indifferent about the affair!"

Count

Count Kayſerling was careful not to diſobey. Neither he nor the ruſſian generals neglected any thing for ſecuring the choice which their ſovereign deſired. The dyetines were already convoked. That of Warſaw elected Poniatofsky by an unanimous ſuffrage: but whatever pains had been taken for bringing thoſe of the provinces to the ſame favourable diſpoſition, his ſucceſs was not the ſame. His competitors obtained a majority of voices in ſome, and at leaſt an equal number with his in the others.

At the aſſembling of the diet of convocation, the ruſſian troops entered Warſaw, under pretence of preſerving liberty and order.

Crowds of foreigners at the ſame time poured into that city, all ready to unite at the very firſt ſignal. Count Branichky, grand general of the crown, and prince Radzivil, took arms in order to prevent the Ruſſians from extorting the ſuffrages: but what could they do againſt foreign armies who were maſters of the country; and againſt a part of their countrymen diſpoſed to join thoſe armies? It is a difficult matter to form an adequate idea of the tumult that began to prevail in the diet of Warſaw. Count Malakofsky, venerable for his great age and his virtues, had been appointed its marſhal. He endeavoured in vain to reduce it to order, and

to

to clear it of ſtrangers. He was anſwered by furious vociferations, and ſabres were drawn. The eloquent Mokranofsky, nuntio of Cracow, ran the riſk of his life under the ſwords of the ruſſian officers, who endeavoured to pierce him from the galleries of the ſpeakers. He at firſt thought of ſtanding on his defence; but, preſently returning his ſabre into the ſheath, and expoſing his breaſt:—"If you muſt needs have "a victim," ſaid he to the Ruſſians, "I ſtand "here before you. But at leaſt I ſhall die "free, as I have hitherto lived."—It is not improbable that he would have fallen a prey to their fury, had not prince Adam Chartorinſky had the generous courage to throw himſelf in the way, and to ſhield him with his body. Thus, in the firſt ſittings of the diet nothing paſſed but injurious ſpeeches and tumultuous quarrels.

Some one at Peterſburg who knew what diſpleaſure the election of Poniatofsky would occaſion to the Poles, and, wanting to vilify him in the eyes of Catharine, had the boldneſs to tell that monarch, that he whoſe intereſt ſhe eſpouſed ſeemed the leſs proper to fill the throne of Poland, as his grandfather had been intendant of a little eſtate belonging to the princes Lubomirſky.—"Though he had been ſo himſelf," re-

turned ſhe, ſomewhat nettled, "I will have him "to be king, and he ſhall be."

Holding this language, Catharine was under no apprehenſions of being deceived. Independently of the troops which ſhe had already in Poland, ſhe cauſed a body of 12,000 men to enter Lithuania, and freſh reinforcements were advancing towards Kief. Her ambaſſador ruled at Warſaw, and her armies, if the expreſſion may be allowed, compreſſed the republic.

Several of the provinces now heavily accuſed their nuncios of having badly correſponded with their deſires in ſubmitting to the influence of the court of Peterſburg. They did not confine themſelves to murmurs. They had recourſe to arms; they formed into different confederacies; but theſe movements were attended by no conſequences. The Ruſſians threatened: the malcontents were preſently ſilenced.

At length the diet of election was opened; held, according to cuſtom, in the plain of Vola, at the diſtance of about three miles from Warſaw. This diet began by a ſolemn maſs, and a ſermon*. Count Kayſerling, ambaſſador from

* The preacher took his text from theſe words: Eligite ex vobis meliorem, qui vobis placuerit, et poſuite eum ſuper ſolium. 2 Kings, x. 3.

Ruſſia,

Ruſſia, being at that time indiſpoſed, could not repair to Vola, but ſent to the diet a letter, addreſſed to him by the empreſs, recommending to him count Poniatofsky in the moſt preſſing terms.

The other party, however, had not been idle, either during the election of the nuncios or repreſentatives, who, in the name of the body of the nobility, were to chuſe a king, nor at the firſt aſſembling of the ſtates*. In the former caſe great tumults were raiſed, but they ſubſiſted not long. In the latter 22 ſenators entered a proteſt againſt the proceedings of the diet, the principal reaſons of which were grounded on the preſence and interference of the foreign troops. Forty-five nuncios ſigned an act of adheſion to this proteſt.

Count Branichky, who was at the head of theſe proteſters, retired from the diet. But that aſſembly, ſoon after its opening, took its revenge. An order was made for diveſting him of the poſt of crown general. Branichky denied their power; drew together into one body a great part of that army of which they had attempted to deprive him, but which ſtill faithfully adhered to him; augmented it by levies; and prepared

* May 7, 1764.

to maintain himſelf by force; poſſeſſed, as it ſhould ſeem, by a ſpirit of deſpair and fury, having no power in the leaſt adequate to the height of his attempt. Prince Radzivil, on his part, was alſo up in arms, and with the ſame obſtinacy, and no greater ſtrength, ſtruggled againſt the election.

The ambaſſadors of France, Spain, and the empire, finding their political intrigues of no more avail towards obſtructing the election, than the hoſtile attempts of prince Radzivil and count Branichky were likely to be, retired from the diet and left Poland, declaring that they had not been ſent to a party, but to the whole republic*.

An action at length happened † between prince Radzivil and the ruſſian troops, wherein the Poles, having fought a long time with their uſual irregular bravery, were as uſual defeated by the Ruſſians.

The ſpirit of Poland appeared ſtrongly in all the circumſtances of this action. The princeſs Radzivil, but newly married, and a ſiſter of that prince, both of them young and beautiful, fought on horſeback with ſabres, and encouraged the ſoldiery both by their words and their example.

* June the 7th, 1764. † On the 3d of July.

Branichky was alſo defeated by a body of Ruſſians; and theſe two nobles, the only very conſiderable perſons who oppoſed the ruſſian nomination, were obliged to fly out of their country, and to take ſhelter in the turkiſh dominions, where they particularly value themſelves on protecting the unfortunate; and theſe noble fugitives found refuge where Charles XII. had found it.

During all this time Poniatofsky, accompanied with a great number of his friends, was viſiting each nuncio in particular, and endeavouring to gain them by teſtimonies of benevolence and flattering promiſes. The palatines being all aſſembled and ranged in order round the ſhopa*,

* The general diet for the election of a king is always held in the open field, about two miles from Warſaw, near the village of Vola, where a ſort of booth is erected, covered with boards, at the public charge, which in the poliſh language is called *ſhopa*, or a ſhelter from bad weather. This place is built and prepared by the treaſurer of the crown: it is ſurrounded with a ditch, and has three doors. The day appointed for the diet being come, the ſenate and the nobility proceed to St. John's church at Warſaw, to hear the maſs of the holy ghoſt, to implore its influence in the election of a new king who may have all the qualities neceſſary to defend the intereſts of the church and of the republic: after which they go to the ſhopa and proceed to buſineſs.

a large

a large building, open on all ſides occupied by the ſenate and the equeſtrian order. The primate aſked with a loud voice, at three diſtinct times, who they would have for king? All anſwered unanimouſly:—"Count Poniatofsky!" —The next day * he was proclaimed king of Poland, and grand duke of Lithuania, under the name of Staniſlaus Auguſtus. Thus the diet and the kingdom being freed, in the manner we have ſeen, from all thoſe who were the declared oppoſers of Poniatofsky, the election was ſoon concluded in favour of that prince with an unanimity unknown in the annals of Poland.

The new monarch, on his return to Warſaw, paſſed along the ſtreets of that capital amidſt the acclamations of all the people, and from that ſame day he took poſſeſſion of the palace of the republic. Some nuncios had abſtained from appearing at the diet; the greater part of the prime nobility took umbrage at the appointment of Poniatofsky: but, no ſooner was he on the throne than they came almoſt all to do him homage; and he began to reign in as much tranquillity as if his election had not been effected by violence †.

Some

* The 7th of September.

† Staniſlaus Poniatofsky behaved at firſt with great judgment and circumſpection. He received with kindneſs thoſe who

Some time previous to this election, Catharine had declared her intention of viſiting the ſcene of

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who had acted ſeemingly in the moſt direct oppoſition to his intereſt. The ſon of count Bruhl exerted himſelf to his prejudice, and yet that prince left him in poſſeſſion of the poſt of grand maſter of the artillery which he had promiſed to count Branichky, palatin of Belſh, and of which indeed the latter had the generoſity not to wiſh to deprive him.—Soon after his election, he received letters of congratulation from many of the courts of Europe. The moſt remarkabl is that from the king of Pruſſia, written with his majeſty's own hand. From the matter and the occaſion, as well as the character of the writer, it is extremely worthy of being inſerted at length. Nothing can be more glorious than a communication of ſuch ſentiments in the intercourſe between ſovereigns. "Your majeſty muſt reflect, that, as "you enjoy a crown by election and not by deſcent, the "world will be more obſervant of your majeſty's actions than "of any other potentate in Europe: and it is but reaſonable. "The latter being the mere effect of conſanguinity, no more "is looked for (though much more is to be wiſhed) from "him, than what men are endowed with in common: but, "from a man exalted, by the voice of his equals, from "a ſubject to a king, from a man voluntarily elected to "reign over thoſe by whom he was choſen, every thing is "expected that can poſſibly deſerve and adorn a crown. "Gratitude to his people is the firſt great duty of ſuch "a monarch: for to them alone (under Providence) he "is indebted that he is one. A king who is ſo by birth, if "he acts derogatory to his ſtation, is a ſatire only on him-

"ſelf;

of her ſucceſſes, and to make the tour of Livonia. But whilſt this monarch was employed abroad in diſpoſing of crowns, at home her throne ſeemed to be tottering under her; and that vaſt power, which extended to the remoteſt part of Aſia, which awed all Europe, and abſolutely governed ſo many of its neighbours, was not ſecure of its own duration for a moment. Every breath of a conſpiracy ſeemed to ſhake it: and ſuch was the critical ſtate of that empire, that the deſigns of the obſcureſt perſon in it were not unattended by danger.

In the courſe of this ſummer an event of that nature happened in Ruſſia which is highly deſerving of a place in hiſtory, from the extraordinary circumſtances by which it was accompanied, though ſo extremely myſterious and unaccountable in many particulars, that we deſpair of affording any clear ſatisfaction to the reader concerning them.

"ſelf; but an elected one, who behaves inconſiſtent with "his dignity, reflects diſhonour alſo on his ſubjects. Your "majeſty, I am ſure, will pardon this warmth. It is the "effuſion of the ſincereſt regard. The amiable part of the "picture is not ſo much a leſſon of what you ought to be, "as a prophecy of what your majeſty will be."

 The

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S S...

The empreſs, in the ſummer of 1764, in purſuance of her intentions already mentioned, ſet out on her journey through Eſthonia, Livonia, and Courland. On her way, ſhe paſſed over from Oranienbaum to Cronſtadt; and thinking to give the foreign miniſters an advantageous idea of her marine, ſhe invited them to follow her to that port. They did ſo: but the opinion they formed of her naval forces fell far ſhort of that which ſhe entertained of them herſelf. There was but a ſmall number of ſhips, which they judged but little adapted to keep the ſea: and the engliſh ambaſſador, with that frankneſs peculiar to his nation, did not diſſemble that her navy was far from appearing to him to be very formidable. She afterwards proved that it was poſſible for it to become ſo.

On quitting Cronſtadt, her majeſty, having left the government of Peterſburg to count Panin, took the road of Livonia, accompanied by count Gregory Orloff and a ſmall retinue of nobility of both ſexes. During her abſence on this expedition, in the priſon of the dethroned Ivan an inſurrection broke out under the conduct of a certain Mirovitch, which coſt that unfortunate prince his life.

Ivan

Ivan Antonovitch, ſtyled Ivan the third in the manifeſtoes that were publiſhed in his name while emperor, was born in 1740; great grandſon of tzar Ivan Alexèyevitch, the elder half-brother of Peter the great *. On running over the ſeries of ruſſian monarchs from Alexèy Michailovitch downwards, our feelings are at every moment hurt by the inteſtine diſturbances that have happened from different pretenders, of

* See the genealogical tables in the former volume, tab. iii.

Ivan III. if we reckon by the line of the tzars, or VI. if from the firſt ſovereign of Ruſſia, was proclaimed emperor on the death of empreſs Anne, and Biren regent; but this high elevation was ſoon to be followed by a dreadful fall. The father and the mother of the young emperor were diſcontented at ſeeing themſelves excluded from the regency; and the inſolence with which they were treated by Biren increaſed their diſpleaſure. Munich, on his part, not having obtained from the regent what he thought due to his ſervices, joined himſelf to thoſe princes, and, in the night between the 20th and 21ſt of November, Manſtein, aid-de-camp to Munich, arreſted the regent. The princeſs Anne cauſed herſelf to be proclaimed regent during the minority of her ſon. The whole nation rejoiced at being freed from an abominable tyrant: he was conducted to Schluſſelburg, tried, and condemned to death: but his puniſhment was mitigated to an exile for life in Siberia. This exile was again moderated, by transferring him to Yaroſlauf, where he remained till 1762, when Peter III. as we have already ſeen, recalled him to court; and he was ſhortly after reſtored to his dukedom by Catharine.

 which

which ſo many within ſo ſhort a ſpace of time, and in general attended with ſuch ſhocks, no princely houſe in Europe has experienced, eſpecially in modern times. But a cruel fatality ſeems, in a particular manner, to have propagated the ſeeds of diſcord between the families of the two imperial brothers.

We have ſeen him ſeized and confined with his parents and relations; at firſt conveyed to the citadel of Riga, then in the fortreſs of Dunamund; from thence removed to Oranienburg, at the ſouth-eaſtern extremity of european Ruſſia. At all theſe places the being together alleviated the miſeries of impriſonment, and eſpecially the humane behaviour of captain Korf, which firſt awakened the gratitude of the infant emperor, and was all his life after recollected with emotion; ſolely on account of this lenity, the ſuſpicion of the court fell upon Korf *, and he was removed from his office. About the latter end of 1745, or the beginning of the year 1746, the family was ſeparated; all the reſt being brought more northward to Kolmogori, Ivan was left behind in Oranienburg. To his great misfortune it came into the mind of a monk to carry him off; in their flight they had reached Smo-

* Afterwards promoted to the rank of general by Peter III.

lenſk,

lenſk, where the affair was diſcovered, and they were detained. From thence the wretched captive, lately the envied emperor of a quarter of the globe, was now brought, for greater ſecurity, to Schluſſelburg, and there lodged in a caſematt of the fortreſs, the very loop-hole of which was immediately bricked up. He was never brought out into the open air, and no ray of heaven ever viſited his eyes. In this ſubterranean vault it was neceſſary to keep a lamp always burning; and as no clock was either to be ſeen or heard, Ivan knew no difference between day and night. His interior guard, a captain and a lieutenant, were ſhut up with him; and there was a time when they did not dare to ſpeak to him, not ſo much as to anſwer him the ſimpleſt queſtion. What wonder if his ignorance ſhould at length border on ſtupidity? This dreadful abode was however afterwards changed for that preſently to be deſcribed, in the corridor under the covered way, in the caſtle. Elizabeth cauſed him once to be brought in a covered cart to Peterſburg, and ſaw and converſed with him. Peter III. alſo viſited him incognito; and what paſſed on this occaſion has been already related. Catharine too had a converſation with him ſoon after the commencement of her reign, as ſhe relates in her manifeſto of the

the 28th of Auguſt 1764*, in order, as is there ſaid, to form a judgment of his underſtanding and talents. To her great ſurpriſe ſhe found him to the laſt degree deficient in both. She obſerved in him a total privation of ſenſe and reaſon, with a defect in his utterance, that even had he any thing rational to utter, would have rendered him entirely unintelligible.

All perſons, however, were not ſo thoroughly convinced of the incapacity of this prince. He was now arrived at the age of twenty-four years, and he might evidently be made an inſtrument, or at leaſt a pretence, for exciting dangerous commotions. His juſt title to the crown, of which he had been formerly in poſſeſſion, his long ſufferings, without any other guilt than that poſſeſſion and that title, his youth, and even the obſcurity which attended his life, and which therefore gave latitude for conjecture and invention, formed very proper materials for working on the minds of the populace. At the moment when Catharine was taking her departure from the reſidence, ſhe had intelligence of freſh conſpiracies among the guards. Several of them were taken up; but experience having ſhewn that the detection of one conſpiracy always en-

* Which ſee at the end of this volume.

couraged

couraged the hatching of ſome other; and, willing to avoid irritating the multitude by the frequency of puniſhments, the conſpirators were proceeded againſt in private, and many of them were ſuffered to pine out their lives in priſon.

From the depth of his dungeon prince Ivan afforded hopes to thoſe who held in abhorrence the preſent uſurpation. It was for reſtoring the throne to this unfortunate captive that almoſt all theſe plots were formed. It was for his ſake that men who had never ſeen him, and whoſe very exiſtence was utterly unknown to him, were continually braving the ſcaffold. Faithful to the ſyſtem of calumny that had been of ſuch ſervice to the deſtruction of Peter III. the court of Ruſſia inceſſantly employed it againſt Ivan. One while it was given out that he was ſtupid, and incapable of uttering articulate ſounds; at another, that he was a drunkard, and as ferocious as a ſavage. Sometimes it was even pretended, that he was ſubject to fits of madneſs, and believed himſelf a prophet. But many there were to whom theſe reports ſeemed no better than tales invented by the blackeſt malignity, and afterwards innocently propagated by perſons who did not reflect on the numberleſs intereſts that might concur in their invention. Doubtleſs, Ivan, to whom all kinds of inſtruction were

refuſed,

refused *, and who was kept shut up in a loathsome prison, denied the converse of any human being from whom he could derive information, must necessarily have been of a very confined understanding: but there is still a great distance between ignorance and imbecility or madness. What evidently proves that Ivan was neither mad nor stupid is, in the first place, the conversation he had † at count Schuvaloff's with the empress Elizabeth. Not only the graces of his figure and the accents of his voice, but the moving complaints he uttered, awakened the sensibility of all that were present, and even drew from the empress abundance of tears. If that young prince had committed some act of lunacy, would it have failed of publication? Again, afterwards we find a fresh proof of his good sense and his sensibility in the discourse which he held to Peter III. when he saw him, for the first time, at Schlusselburg. Baron Korf has faithfully transmitted it to us, as we have related it in the first volume of this work ‡. Peter III. talked with him several times afterwards, and persisted in his intention of declaring

* It however has been affirmed, that a german officer, who for some time had the custody of him, clandestinely taught him to read.

† In 1756. ‡ See vol. i. p. 258, 259.

him

him his heir. Now it may well be imagined, that Volkoff, Goudovitch, and his other confidants, would have dissuaded him from it, if they could have brought themselves to imagine Ivan likely to be for ever unfit to wear the crown. But, to conclude, whatever might be the character of that prince, the daring attempts that were repeatedly made in his favour did not render him less formidable to Catharine and to the tranquillity of the empire.

Chance soon furnished an instrument to put him out of the way of being any disturbance to either. The regiment of Smolensk was in garrison in the town of Schlusselburg; and a company of about 100 men guarded the fortress in which prince Ivan was confined. In this regiment was an officer named Vassily Mirovitch, whose grandfather had been implicated in the rebellion of the kozac Mazeppa, and had fought under Charles XII. against Peter the great. The estates of the family of Mirovitch had accordingly been forfeited to the crown. This young man, who had a good share of ambition, preferred with warmth his pretensions to have them restored; and this it was that made him known at court. The family-estates were not given up; but he was continually flattered with the hopes of their recovery, if he would shew

himself

himſelf active in ſecuring the tranquillity of the empire.

The inner guard placed over the imperial priſoner conſiſted of two officers, captain Vlaſſieff and lieutenant Tſchekin, who ſlept with him in his cell. Theſe had a diſcretionary order, ſigned by the empreſs, by which they were enjoined to put the unhappy prince to death, on any inſurrection that might be made in his favour, on the preſumption that it could not otherwiſe be quelled.

The door of Ivan's priſon opened under a ſort of low arcades, which, together with it, form the thickneſs of the caſtle-wall within the ramparts; in this arcade or corridor eight ſoldiers uſually kept guard, as well on his account, as becauſe the ſeveral vaults on a line with his contain ſtores of various kinds for the uſe of the fortreſs. The other ſoldiers were in the guard-houſe, at the gate of the caſtle, and at their proper ſtations. The detachment had for its commander an officer, who himſelf was under the orders of the governor.

It has been affirmed that, ſome time before the execution of his project, Mirovitch had opened himſelf to a lieutenant of the regiment of Veliki Luki, named Uſchakoff; and that Uſchakoff bound himſelf by an oath, which he

took at the altar of the church of St. Mary of Kaſan in St. Peterſburg, to aid him in the enterpriſe to the beſt of his power. But as this latter was drowned, a few days after this is ſaid to have happened, as he was aſſiſting in the launch of a veſſel, it is impoſſible to aſcertain the fact.

It is more apparent that he talked in vague terms of the conſpiracy with one of the valets of the court, and that he mentioned it afterwards to Simeon Tſchevarideff, lieutenant of artillery, and ſpoke of the advantages that would accrue from the reſcue of Ivan, and the delivering of him to the regiments of the guards. While he thought to raiſe his conſequence by putting on the air of a conſpirator without accomplices, he however ſaid nothing to Tſchevarideff poſitively either of the time or the manner of executing his plot.

He had already performed his week's duty in the fortreſs, without venturing an attempt. But, tormented by the anxieties ariſing from ſuſpenſe, and condemning his own irreſolution, he aſked permiſſion to be continued on guard for one week longer. This was granted him without heſitation.

After having admitted into his confidence a man of the name of Jacob Piſhkoff, he began

at about ten o'clock on a fine ſummer's night*, to fall into converſation with three corporals and two common ſoldiers; and after tampering with them ſome time, and obviating ſuch difficulties as were ſuggeſted by their fears, they were ſoon gained over to his plan, and they promiſed to follow his orders. Nevertheleſs, whether from timidity or from precaution, they reſolved with one conſent to wait till the night was farther advanced. Between the hours of one and two in the morning, they came together again. Mirovitch and the corporals then made about fifty † of the ſoldiers who were on guard to put themſelves under arms, and thus marched towards the priſon of Ivan. On the way they met Berednikoff, the governor of the fortreſs, whom they thought faſt locked in the arms of ſleep; but who, rouzed by ſome noiſe, whether made by them or accidentally occaſioned, had come out to ſee what was the matter. The governor, authoritatively demanded of Mirovitch the reaſon of his appearance in arms at the head of the ſoldiers? Without returning any anſwer, Mirovitch knocked him down with the butt end of his firelock, and, ordering ſome of his people to ſecure him, continued his march. Being arrived

* The $\frac{4}{15}$th of July.

† It is probable that 38 was the exact number.

at the corridor into which the door of Ivan's chamber opened, the centinels put themſelves in a poſture to oppoſe his paſſage. He immediately ordered his men to fire upon them, which they did. The centinels returned their fire; but none were hurt either on the one ſide or the other.

The ſoldiers of Mirovitch, ſurpriſed at the reſiſtance they met, ſhewed ſigns of an inclination to retreat. Their chief withheld them; but they inſiſted on his ſhewing them the order which he ſaid he had received from Peterſburg. He directly drew from his pocket and read to them a forged decree of the ſenate, recalling prince Ivan to the throne, and excluding Catharine from it, becauſe ſhe was gone into Livonia to marry count Poniatofſky. The ignorant and credulous ſoldiers implicitly gave credit to the decree, and again put themſelves in order to obey him. A piece of artillery was now brought to Mirovitch, who himſelf pointed it at the door of the dungeon; but at that inſtant the door opened, and he entered, unmoleſted, with all his ſuite.

The officers Vlaſſieff and Tſchekin, ſet over the prince as his guard, were ſhut up with him, and had called out to the centinels to fire. But, on hearing Mirovitch give orders to beat

in the door, and judging that they had not the means of making any refiftance to the affailants, they fell fword in hand on the wretched victim now attempted to be carried off.

At the noife of the firing Ivan had awoke; and, hearing the cries and the threats of his guards, he conjured them to fpare his miferable life. But, on feeing that thefe barbarians had no regard to his prayers, he found new force in his defpair, and, though naked, defended himfelf for a confiderable time. Having his right hand pierced through and his body covered with wounds, he feized the fword from one of the monfters and broke it; but while he was ftruggling to get the piece out of his hand, the other ftabbed him from behind, and threw him down. He who had his fword broke now plunged his bayonet into his body, and feveral times repeating his blow, under thefe ftrokes the unhappy prince expired.

They then opened the door, and fhewed Mirovitch at once the bleeding body of the murdered prince, and the order by which they were authorifed to put him to death, if any attempt fhould be made to convey him away.

Mirovitch, ftruck with horror, at firft ftarted back fome paces; then threw himfelf on the body of Ivan, and cried out:—" I have miffed

" my

"my aim; I have now nothing to do but to "die."—But he presently rose up. So far from attempting to flee from the punishment which he must now foresee, or to take his revenge on the two assassins by shooting them on the spot, he returned to the place where he had left the governor in the hands of his soldiers; and, surrendering to him his sword, coldly said:—"It is I that am now your prisoner."

The next day the body of the poor unfortunate Ivan was exposed before the church * in the castle of Schlusselburg, cloathed in the habit of a sailor. As soon as it was known immense crowds of people flocked thither from the neighbouring towns and from St. Petersburg; and it is impossible to describe the grief and indignation that were excited at the view of an unfortunate being, who, after having been cruelly

* An old lutheran church built of timber for the use of the garrison while Nœteburg was in possession of the Swedes, long before it was taken from them by Peter the great. The church is in a very decayed state, full of rubbish, and not employed in any religious purposes. The painted altar is removed from its proper place at the east end, and stands against the north side wall, and in its place, filling the enclosure where the altar rails have been, is a large pile of deal planks, in a state of rottenness: under this stack of wood the body of Ivan was thrown, where it lay for some time.

precipitated from the throne while yet in his cradle, paſſed his days in a dark and doleful dungeon, where he was inhumanly put to death by aſſaſſins. Ivan was full ſix feet high, with a fine blond head of hair, a red beard, regular features, and of a complection extremely fair: accordingly, the beauty of his perſon and his youth * heightened the ſenſibility that was univerſally diſcovered at the unhappineſs of his lot, and the cruelty of his murderers. His body was wrapt up in a ſheep-ſkin, put into a coffin, and inhumed without ceremony.

The concourſe and the murmurs increaſed to ſuch a degree that a tumult was now apprehended. To avoid any fatal conſequences to themſelves the two aſſaſſins Vlaſſieff and Tſchekin, as ſoon as they had perpetrated their crime, put themſelves on board of a veſſel which they found on the point of ſailing for Denmark, where, on their arrival, the ruſſian miniſter took them under his protection †.

The governor of Schluſſelburg diſpatched to Peterſburg a full relation of the horrid outrage of Mirovitch, and of the tragical end of Ivan.

* He had not yet completed his 24th year.

† They ſhortly after returned to Ruſſia, and were advanced in the ſervice.

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He accompanied this account with a manifesto that had been found in the pocket of Mirovitch, and which, it was said, had been long fabricated in concert with lieutenant Uschakoff. This manifesto, which contained many scurrilous invectives and imprecations against Catharine, and represented prince Ivan as the sole legitimate emperor, it was observed, was to have been published at the moment the prince was set at liberty and was making his entry into St. Petersburg. Panin immediately sent off a courier to the empress with an exact account of these particulars.

Her majesty was then at Riga; and, under a visible impatience of mind, was frequently inquiring after news from the residence: a circumstance by no means unaccountable, if we consider the frequent causes of alarm from plots and cabals with which she had been incessantly harassed since the beginning of her reign. Her inquietude increased from day to day, and she would often rise in the night to ask whether no courier was arrived*. Some persons afterwards recollected these circumstances to her

* These facts have often been confirmed by general Brown; who, being a good roman catholic, honestly attributed these perturbations of Catharine to supernatural presentiments.

 disad-

disadvantage, as if she was anxiously counting the days since the period when Mirovitch was stationed on guard *. At length, after three days had elapsed, the dispatches of Panin were brought to her hand.

The senate passed sentence alone upon Mirovitch, condemning him to be beheaded. The two officers were rewarded.

The public was much divided in opinion concerning the whole of this transaction. It was thought inconceivable that an insignificant private individual should hazard an enterprise, that, if even at first all things should go well, yet could never be prosecuted to final success by him. That in the attack no one should be hurt; that upon Ivan's death all should be immediately as quiet as if nothing had happened; that no enquiry was set on foot about any accomplices in Petersburg, of which there had been some talk at first; seemed to give room to surmise that simply this death was the object in view, and to this sole end the whole machinery was directed. None of the court party could have done this service to the absent empress,

* The circumstance that Mirovitch had suffered his week's duty on guard to expire before he could summon up courage enough to attempt the execution of his project, was not, on this occasion, forgotten.

without

without her knowledge and consent. But, on the other hand, the slanderous manifesto found upon Mirovitch was produced, which he intended to have published immediately upon his having Ivan in his possession, and which count Panin, it was said, had actually read and sent to the sovereign; but particularly the execution of the rebel: if perhaps it was he, and not some unknown malefactor, who underwent that punishment.—Let it suffice, the public emotions of pity and displeasure at the sad catastrophe of the imperial progeny, and himself once emperor, were plainly manifested by every kind of expression. The multitudes of people who, notwithstanding all that could be done to check their impetuosity, still flocked to the castle, insisting on seeing the body, were so great, that the government was obliged to give orders to remove it from the castle-church, and convey it in the silence of the night with the utmost secrecy, to the monastery of Tichfina, 200 versts from Petersburg. Among the regiments of guards in that city, who thought they had the exclusive right to depose and to murder emperors, violent commotions arose; that especially in the night of the 24th of July, caused the greatest alarm: it was only by the prudent measure of prince Galitzin, who caused powder and ball to be publicly distributed among

the marching regiments that were encamped in the vicinity of Peterſburg, that tranquillity was reſtored. When the two officers by whom the prince was aſſaſſinated appeared at court, every one beheld them with looks of undiſſembled contempt and abhorrence.

Catharine's throne was now firmly eſtabliſhed. Even the angry ſpirit that perſecuted the family of Ivan ſeemed at length appeaſed. As her majeſty afterwards ſet at liberty the other members of it, it may be neceſſary to make ſome brief mention of them here. The parents and relations of the unfortunate young emperor had been brought to Kolmogori, a village-like town in the government of Archangel, on an iſland of the Dwina. Here they dwelt poor and melancholy, in cloſe confinement. The mother, Anna Carlovna, died in child-bed, while Elizabeth was yet reigning, in March 1746, and was taken from hence, and buried in the ſame monaſtery where afterwards Peter III. at laſt found reſt. The father, Anthony Ulric, died in 1776. He left behind him two princes, Peter and Alexey, two princeſſes, Catharine and Elizabeth, and ſeveral natural children: all, except the elder of the princeſſes, born in priſon. For a ſeries of 17 years they were very ſeverely treated by Golovtzin, the laſt viceroy of Archangel. After his death,

which

which happened in 1779, Catharine appointed in his place a man of more generous ſentiments, the general-governor Melgunef, who viſited the unfortunate captives, adminiſtered to them every conſolation in his power, took with him a letter from the princeſs Elizabeth to the empreſs; and, on delivering it, deſcribed their ſituation in ſuch affecting terms, that her majeſty immediately reſolved to open a negotiation with the court of Denmark. The dowager-queen of that kingdom, Juliana Maria, was a ſiſter of duke Anthony Ulric. In the following year, 1780, the buſineſs was brought to a concluſion: the accommodation was eaſy, as Catharine acted with her wonted magnanimity. If, as is probable, a deed of renunciation of all pretenſions to the ruſſian throne was required of the ſtate-priſoners in behalf of themſelves and their poſterity, neither could this occaſion any difficulty. The empreſs directly ſent them 200,000 rubles, to provide the family with clothes, plate, porcelaine, &c. befitting their rank. This ſhe accompanied with a preſent of rich furs and jewels from the imperial cabinet; and appointed perſons of quality to attend the princes and princeſſes on their voyage. At Archangel Melgunef firſt diſcovered to them their liberation, and the intended voyage to Denmark. They heard the news

news with ſorrow, and earneſtly intreated to be ſent back to their old priſon; till the perſuaſions of the generous Melgunef raiſed their ſpirits, and inſpired them with courage *. In July a frigate brought the whole family to Bergen in Norway, where the princes and princeſſes were taken on board a daniſh ſhip, leaving the illegitimate children to return with the imperial frigate. T. parting with theſe half-relatives excited the moſt painful emotions in the breaſts of the family. The moſt ſenſible of them, Elizabeth, ſurvived not long her grief and the ſhock her frame had received at this ſudden change of fortune. The four brothers and ſiſters of Ivan were, at the time when they obtained their liberty, between 30 and 40 years of age. The daniſh court aſſigned them the city of Horſens in Jutland, as the place of their reſidence. Towards their eſtabliſhment there Catharine

* The dowager queen of Denmark, in the letter of thanks which ſhe wrote to the empreſs in terms of the tendereſt ſenſibility, highly extolled, as ſhe had reaſon to do, the behaviour of this worthy man in the whole of his conduct. This teſtimony ſaved him, on occaſion of an unmerited accuſation that was brought againſt him concerning his behaviour in this buſineſs, and which threatened him with imminent danger: and, on his having juſtified himſelf, to the ſatisfaction of all impartial judges, Catharine rewarded him with the order of St. Andrew, and made him many preſents beſides.

tharine presented them with 20,000 rubles, and paid annually to the maintenance of their dignity, 30,000 rubles. In October 1782, the princess Elizabeth died at Horsens; and her death was followed by that of her brother Alexèy in October 1787. The natural children of the duke of Brunswic received in Russia an annual pension: one of them, a daughter named Amelia, after her return, married lieutenant Karikin, who, for twelve years, had the guard of the family at Kolmogori, and with whom she had long been intimately acquainted.

To return to our history. Catharine, soon after the shocking event that had happened at Schlusselburg, arrived from off her journey through the conquered provinces. On her entry into Petersburg, she was surrounded by an immense concourse of people, who endeavoured to find out by her countenance what was passing in her heart; but, always mistress of herself, the face of that princess was ever covered with smiles. Her step was as firm, her front as serene, as those who feel no inward reproaches usually are.

Lieutenant-general Weymar had already been charged to repair to Schlusselburg. After having privately examined Mirovitch and his accomplices, they were brought to Petersburg, where

where their trial was opened before a commiſſion compoſed of five prelates, of an equal number of ſenators, and ſeveral general officers. Mirovitch appeared before the judges with all that tranquillity which only the hope of pardon can communicate to a criminal like him. He replied with a frivolous and often inſolent air, to the interrogatories that were put to him. It is true that the judges themſelves ſeemed not to make it a matter of great importance, and rather appeared as if they dreaded to fathom this execrable myſtery. One alone * had ſo much ſenſe of propriety as to declare againſt ſuch an extraordinary mode of procedure. But he was blamed for his indiſcreet zeal, and adviſed to keep ſilence, if he would not loſe his office, and be degraded from his rank of nobleſſe. In fine, after ſome days ſpent in the trial, Mirovitch was condemned to loſe his head †, not as guilty of high treaſon, but only as a diſturber of the public peace. Unmoved at this ſentence, he walked to the ſcaffold like a man who had nothing to fear, and who thought himſelf ſure of obtaining a pardon, as indeed, according to a report, it had been promiſed him. But if he really reckoned on a pardon, he was cruelly

* He was a ſenator. † On the 26th of September.

deceived.

deceived. The time for his execution was accelerated; and the unhappy wretch, if he had before been the inſtrument, was now the victim of a barbarous policy. Thoſe who conſidered him in the former point of view were aſtoniſhed that the empreſs ſhould ſuffer him to fall under the axe. But how could ſhe have ſcreened him from puniſhment without manifeſtly drawing upon herſelf the charge of having prompted his crime? and if ſhe were really concerned in it, can it be thought that ſhe would heſitate a moment in getting rid of a witneſs who would have expoſed her to everlaſting vexation?

Mirovitch was the only perſon condemned to death. The ſoldiers whom he had engaged to join him in the intended reſcue were puniſhed with various degrees of ſeverity. Piſhkoff, who was conſidered as the moſt guilty, was ſentenced to run the gantlet twelve times through a line of a thouſand men. The three corporals and the two fuziliers, ſeduced after Piſhkoff, were flogged ten times along the ſame line; after which they were put to the public works, with a log chained to their leg. The other ſoldiers who acted under the orders of Mirovitch were likewiſe whipped through the ranks; and after being incorporated in other regiments, were ſent into diſtant garriſons. Tſchevarideff was degraded

degraded from his rank of officer, for having heard without revealing the vague confidential communications of Mirovitch. Fifty-eight perſons were puniſhed. A great appearance of ſeverity was exerciſed againſt them; and this, among other circumſtances, was calculated to obviate any ſuſpicions that might ariſe concerning any more eminent inſtigators of their crime.

CHAP. V.

Diſcontents at Peterſburg.—Miſunderſtanding between the counts Gregory Orloff and Panin.—Viſſenſky becomes favourite of the empreſs.—Reſignation of the chancellor Vorontzoff.—Prince Radzivil at the head of the confederates.—The biſhop of Cracow carried off.—The duke de Choiſeul incites the Turks to declare war againſt Ruſſia.—Treaty entered into by the empreſs with England.—Tournament at Peterſburg.—Reform of the courts of juſtice.—Convocation of deputies from all the provinces of the empire.—Wiſe reply of the Samoyèdes.—Wicked attempt of Tſchoglokoff.—Travels of ſeveral learned men in the interior of Ruſſia.—Academical inſtitutions.—Inoculation of the empreſs and the grand duke, with other events from 1764 *to* 1768.

THE beneficial effects of Catharine's regulations and eſtabliſhments for the internal adminiſtration of government were every day becoming more apparent in all parts of Ruſſia. That vaſt empire, rendered more compact, better regulated, more ſimply organiſed, animated with a new ſpirit, muſt naturally have a

powerful influence on the commerce, on the finances, the politics, nay even on the exiſtence of the other nations of the earth: and it certainly had. The time was paſt when foreign cabinets, with a ſort of aſſurance of effect, could direct affairs, give birth to reſolutions, and put a ſtop to proceedings at Peterſburg; the government diſplayed that ſpirit of independence which became ſo great a monarchy: on the contrary, the queſtion was now, how Catharine was acting, and what ſhe was purpoſing in regard to all that the princes and republics, from the Memel to the Tagus, were meditating and tranſacting. A ſagacious hiſtorian, who is certainly no flatterer of deſpots, ſays of the late empreſs of Ruſſia, to which every one muſt ſubſcribe, "The volumes of modern hiſtory can "produce no reign like this: for no monarch "has ever yet ſucceeded in the attainment of "ſuch a dictature in the grand republic of "Europe, as Catharine II. now holds; and "none of all the kings who have heretofore "given cauſe to dread the erection of an uni-"verſal monarchy, ſeem to have had any "knowledge of her art; to preſent herſelf "with the pride of a conqueror in the moſt "perilous ſituations, and with an unuſual, a "totally new dignity in the moſt common

"tranſ-

"transactions. And it is manifestly not alone "the supreme authority which here gives law, "but the judgment which knows when to "shew that authority, and when to employ "it *."

Theoretical politicians, indeed, and statistical calculators, have pretended to affirm, that this complaisance of the rest of Europe has been shewn without reason; and that the assumption that the power of Russia is so formidable is one of those that are only admitted upon trust. But the consequence seems here demonstrable, if any where in a case like this: whoever undertakes many things, and performs all that he undertakes, is probably still able to undertake and to perform more. Whoever, just at the time when the politician has calculated that he is reduced to his last soldier and his last ruble, appears with a formidable army, and disposes of millions with magnanimous prodigality, cannot be yet at the extremity of his forces or his wealth. And (what is completely decisive) whoever, in the grand european republic, at the time when a Frederic and a Joseph, when the intriguing

* M. Spittler, in his "Sketch of the History of the "Governments of Europe," part ii. p. 420.

French and the enterprising Britons compose the senate of that republic, can hold the dictature, is surely born to be dictator, is endowed with all the qualities requisite to that end: the power, the art, and the judgment. This will apply to Catharine. In her were united what the world has seldom seen together. From merely physical power many things may afford security; but the superiority of mind, the refinement of policy, is capable of reaching lengths, of which the former will fall short.—Whom she favoured with her esteem and friendship, never advanced farther to confidence, but remained in a respectful, almost dependent situation. Whoever incurred her wrath, she could so place before all Europe, that the effects of it were no longer beheld as a hostile contention between two equal potentates, but as the chastisement of a felon.—When she issued her commands, it was in the sweet accents of righteousness and peace. However her passions were excited, she yet remained tranquil, till the proper maturity ensured the event; and thus her actions acquired the distinctive marks of irresistible majesty. But never yet has a monarch understood, like her, how to be bountiful exactly at the fittest time, and to make presents with such significance as to fix the gratitude of the receiver,

ceiver, and to acquire the veneration that is due to a beneficent deity *.

While Catharine was giving law to Poland, amusing Austria, conciliating the friendship of Prussia, and treating with England, she was also tampering with the other courts of Europe, and labouring efficaciously towards very soon making herself dreaded by them. She exerted herself to the utmost in giving new spirit to the commerce of her country, in augmenting her navy, and above all in softening the manners of her people, as yet not far advanced in civilization. But, badly seconded by the great personages of the empire, and even by such as were about her, the progress of her institutions was at

* We will take the liberty of making here one other extract from Spittler's work, concerning the interference of Russia in the affairs of Poland :—" It was an ingenious contrivance, " formed in a truly roman style, and completed accordingly. " Not only a numerous and free nation was to be deprived of " its liberty and national subsistence, but all Europe was to " be lulled asleep. The annexations of Lewis XIV. were a " trifling business in comparison of what Catharine II. per- " formed in Poland and against that country. But what " loud and violent cries were raised against the former ; and " in what soft murmurs did the voice of truth repeat the " ancient law of nations, when there seemed to be no longer " any law between Russia and Poland ? &c." See Spittler's work on the governments of Europe, p. 423.

firſt but ſlow. The ſpirit of diviſion continued to reign in Peterſburg. The outrages that were to be prevented or puniſhed, always made it neceſſary for Catharine to keep well with the conſpirators to whom ſhe was indebted for the throne: but the favours ſhe was inceſſantly heaping on that greedy and inſolent crew, were ſo many additional ſources of hatred and diſcontent. Some new plot or conſpiracy was forming every day; and every day the good fortune of the empreſs, or rather her prudence, delivered her from danger. Puniſhments were ſecret and terrible. The authors of one plot could but rarely undertake a ſecond.

What moſt afflicted the empreſs was the miſunderſtanding that prevailed between her favourite and her chief miniſter, becauſe the devotedneſs and audacity of the one were not leſs uſeful to her than the name and abilities of the other. Panin had certainly conſiderable imperfections; but he was the only one who had a true notion of buſineſs. His cold imagination, his melancholy, his pride, his obſtinacy, and above all his indolence, were highly diſpleaſing to Catharine: but ſhe did ample juſtice to his talents, and continued to give him her confidence. Beſides, though the empreſs was not

ſatisfied with him, he had the art of reviſing his opinions, when he found them diſagreeable to her.

The influence of Orloff was founded on a different baſis: but he uſed it without diſcretion, and was continually leſſening its ſtability. No longer employing thoſe aſſiduities which were the only means in his power of ſecuring the favour he enjoyed, and even negligent of his uſual attendance at court, abſenting himſelf for ſeveral weeks together for purſuing the chace of the bear, and indifferent to the amuſements of the palace, if ever any warmth of attachment ſubſiſted, it muſt naturally now ſubſide, and decline into perfect indifference.

Panin, remarking this conduct, thought he might improve it to bring on the diſmiſſion of the arrogant favourite. Perceiving that the empreſs frequently beheld with complacency a young officer, named Viſſenſky, thenceforward he put in practice every thing he could deviſe to encourage the inclination. Viſſenſky was ſoon admitted into favour; and, directed by the artful miniſter, behaved in ſuch a manner as to give reaſon to believe that Orloff would ſoon be diſcarded. But the latter, who was not willing to loſe his conſequence, made a ſudden alteration in his conduct, and by that means pre-

ſerved his ſtation. The new favourite was diſmiſſed with brilliant preſents, and an employment that fixed him in one of the remoter provinces.

Though Panin enjoyed great intereſt and a high reſpect, with the advantages accruing from his poſt of governor to the grand duke and his title of miniſter, the return of the chancellor Vorontzoff, whoſe functions he performed *ad interim*, gave him uneaſineſs. Jealous to preſerve his authority entire, and the ſplendor of a repreſentation which was of great value to him, he humbled himſelf ſo far as to flatter the favourite, whoſe downfal he had been endeavouring to procure. Orloff was not of an impracticable temper. Always recollecting with bitterneſs the ſteps which the chancellor had taken to prevent him from ſharing in the throne, he requeſted the empreſs to keep him away from the management of affairs; and he became the apologiſt for an enemy leſs bold, but more artful. Catharine accoſted the chancellor with extreme coldneſs. Inſtead of replacing him in the functions of miniſter, as at his departure ſhe had given him reaſon to hope, ſhe cauſed it to be ſuggeſted to him that it would not be taken amiſs if he were to reſign a place which he could no longer fill to the ſatisfaction of his

ſovereign.

ſovereign. The chancellor heſitated for ſome time: but at length the advice of his friends prevailed. He ſeemed voluntarily to reſign what was actually taken from him. His reſignation was accepted with expreſſions of regret, which were not more ſincere than his wiſhes for retirement; and, in order to convince him of the ſecret joy his compliance gave, he was preſented with a gratuity of 50,000 rubles and a penſion of 7000.

Among the numberleſs means employed by Catharine for detecting the authors of the plots that were perpetually diſturbing her repoſe, ſhe did not neglect the interception of the correſpondence of the foreign miniſters. That of the agent * of France was ſold to her. She even ſucceeded in procuring a duplicate of his cypher; and ſhe thought ſhe perceived in his letters, if not the adherence to the machinations of the conſpirators, at leaſt the knowledge of all the myſterious affairs that were carrying on among the people about her. Her pride was hurt at this diſcovery; her reſentment againſt the court of Verſailles increaſed; and the cold reception ſhe gave to the agent of that court

* Berenger, who had the title of chargé d'affaires.

reduced him to the neceſſity of making his retreat *.

Lewis XV. then ſent to Peterſburg the marquis de Beauſſet †, a man of great vanity and but ſmall capacity, to whom the miniſters of Catharine complained heavily of the chargé d'affaires his predeceſſor. But, as Beauſſet was unac-

* That princeſs, ſurmiſing afterwards that Voltaire might have learnt ſome of the facts contained in the correſpondence of the agents of his nation, wrote to that celebrated genius in ſuch a manner as to diſſuade him from giving credit to them, if he were acquainted with the buſineſs, and to inform him of nothing if he were not. "All "your countrymen," ſhe writes to him, "do not entertain "the ſame ſentiments of me as you do. I know ſome who "wiſh to perſuade themſelves that it is impoſſible for me to "do any thing that is good; who put their invention to "the rack to perſuade others to think ſo likewiſe; and "woe to their emiſſaries if they dare to think otherwiſe "than as they are taught. I have candour enough to be"lieve it an advantage which they give me over them, "becauſe whoever only knows facts from the mouth of his "flatterers, knows them but badly, ſees them in a falſe "light, and acts in conſequence. Since, however, my "fame does not depend on them, but entirely on my "principles, on my actions, I comfort myſelf, as well as I "can, in not obtaining their approbation. As a good "chriſtian, I forgive them; and I pity thoſe who envy "me."

† He was preſented to the empreſs the 1ſt of May 1765.

quainted

quainted with the true caufe of thefe complaints, he paid them but little attention, and took no precautions to prevent their being renewed againft him. He even thought they were only to be afcribed to the blind jealoufy which the glory of the french nation excited in the emprefs; fo far from it, that her ambition was ftriving to ufurp the efteem and draw upon her the praifes of that nation. She correfponded with Voltaire and d'Alembert. She made an offer to the latter of the place of governor to the grand duke, with a falary of 24,000 livres, and all conveniencies for finifhing the Encyclopédie at Peterfburg; advantages which the philofopher thought proper to refufe *. Being informed that Diderot was not in good circumftances, and was defirous of felling his library to enable him to portion out his daughter; fhe bought that library, left it in his own poffeffion, and fettled on him a handfome appointment as the librarian of it. Some time previous to this, fhe had fent to Morand, the famous furgeon, a collection of gold and filver medals which had been ftruck in Ruffia, as a teftimony of her fatisfaction with the anatomical fubjects and chirurgical inftruments which he had procured for her. Almoft

* See the appendix to the former volume, No. IV, p. 470.

all

all the men of letters and the moſt diſtinguiſhed artiſts of Paris received ſome proofs of her munificence, and admiring her bounties, forgetting or unacquainted with her frailties,

They ſwelled with lies the hundred trumps of Fame.

In the mean time the ſecret deſign propoſed by that princeſs in crowning count Ciolek Poniatofsky began to unfold. Thinking herſelf ſecure of the entire ſubmiſſion of that monarch, ſhe put off all conſtraint, and openly avowed the deſigns which even policy had made it a crime in the Poles to have imputed to her. Her pretenſions were, doubtleſs, extravagant: but, as ſhe was deſirous that they ſhould not be uſeleſs, ſhe only declared them when on the point of marching the troops that were deſtined to ſupport them, and propoſed nothing but in an imperious tone. After having traced out on the map the lines of demarcation, by which Ruſſia purloined a great part of the territory of Poland, Catharine inſiſted on the recognition of the validity of theſe lines, and that the limits of the two countries ſhould thus be fixed. She exacted, farther, that the king and the republic ſhould contract with her a treaty of alliance offenſive and defenſive, and that they ſhould allow the diſſidents to enjoy all the ſame rights with

the catholics, not excepting that of a capacity for being members of the ſenate. The laſt of theſe demands, the only one that was equitable, raiſed the indignation of an intolerant and deſpotic nobility. Murmurs were now heard on all ſides: mention was made of having recourſe to arms. Whether he was really aſhamed of the ſacrifices that were preſcribed to his recognition, or rather afraid of putting the nation in a ferment, the king himſelf declared that he could not conſent to theſe ſacrifices. But in order to be the better able to form a judgment of the pretexts with which Catharine covered her ambition, it will be neceſſary to underſtand what the poliſh diſſidents were.

Poland was originally circumſcribed within very narrow bounds. The inhabitants, between the 9th and 10th centuries, adopted the chriſtian religion as it was then profeſſed by the church of Rome. About the ſame time many of the neighbouring provinces, which were then independent ſtates, at different periods embraced that worſhip according to the ritual of the Greeks. In proceſs of time, many of theſe neighbouring ſtates, either by conqueſt, by right of ſucceſſion, by marriage, or by compact, became united to the kingdom of Poland; upon all which acceſſions the new provinces were upon

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an exact equality with the old in every respect, and each observed their own peculiar modes of worship.

Of all these accessions, that which fell to it by the marriage of Yagellon, grand duke of Lithuania, with the daughter and heiress of Lewis king of Poland, in 1386, was the largest and most considerable. By this event the grand duchy of Lithuania, together with the provinces of White-Russia, Podlachia, Volhinia, Podolia, and shortly afterwards Red-Russia, became annexed to the kingdom of Poland; with this distinction, that the union between the kingdom and the grand duchy depended only on the continuance of the line of the Yagellons, that family being the natural sovereigns of Lithuania. The inhabitants of all these provinces were of the greek religion, as well as those of Moldavia, Vallachia, and the Ukraine, which were added to the kingdom by the successors of Yagellon: so that by these great accessions, the members of the greek church became at that time far superior, both in numbers and power, to those of the roman catholic persuasion. It was thought a happiness peculiar to Poland, that, while other countries have at different times been a prey to intestine feuds and rancour on the score of the religion of Christ, the great variety of opinions

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on that ſubject never produced any ſtriſe or animoſity among the people of this nation.

The reformation made very early progreſs in Poland, and the majority of the ſenators and nobility became members either of the lutheran or calviniſtic communions. To prevent therefore any miſchiefs that might ariſe from theſe differences of religion, Sigiſmund Auguſtus paſſed a law at the diet of Vilna, on the 16th of June 1563, declaring that all thoſe of the equeſtrian and noble orders, whether of lithuanian or ruſſian extraction, ſhould enjoy equal rights, provided they profeſs the chriſtian religion. This he afterwards confirmed at the diet of Grodno, in 1568, adding, to prevent all miſconſtructions in favour of any party, that it was to be underſtood of every ſuch perſon, of whatever chriſtian communion or confeſſion he be.

Under favour of this toleration proteſtantiſm made rapid advances in Poland. By this wiſe act of Sigiſmund Auguſtus, all ſects, whether proteſtant, greek or arian, enjoyed the full liberty of exerciſing their worſhip, and the right of voting in the diets and of holding the ſame offices as the catholics. None were at the time offended by this act of juſtice: on the contrary, all were glad to ſee that the difference of religion pro-

duced none in the political and civil rights of the ſeveral members of the community. As a diſtinction among themſelves, the followers of the different modes of worſhip were called diſſidents: but that name, which has ſince been made a ſignal for proſcription, had nothing then injurious in it; and the ſucceſſors of Sigiſmund Auguſtus, when they ſwore to obſerve the *pacta conventa*, ſwore alſo to preſerve peace among the diſſidents *. When Henry de Valois

* It appears, from the very beginning of the republic, that the term *diſſidents* equally comprehended the greeks, catholics, reformed, and lutherans. The words of that famous conſtitution which was paſſed by the diet, which formed the republic in the year 1573, are, *Nos qui ſumus diſſidentes in religione*, i. e. We who differ in religious matters. In the ſame conſtitution it is declared, that they will acknowledge no man for king or ſovereign, "who ſhall not "confirm by oath all the rights, privileges, and liberties, "which they now enjoy, and which are to be laid before "him after the election. Particularly, he ſhall be bound "to ſwear, that he will maintain the peace among the diſſi-"dents in points of religion." In the conſtitutions of the ſame diet are the following remarkable ſtipulations: "We "will engage, in our own names, and in the names of our "ſucceſſors for ever, by the obligations of our oath, of our "faith, of our honour, and of our conſciences, to preſerve "peace among us who are diſſidents in religion; to ſhed "no blood, nor to inflict on any one the penalties of con-"fiſcation of goods, defamation, impriſonment, or exile, on "account

Valois * was elected king of Poland, he wanted to dispense himself from an oath that wounded his intolerant superstition: but his attempts were in vain. He must relinquish the crown or swear to protect the diffidents: he took the oath.

However, when the roman catholics, after the death of Sigismund III. had gained an evident superiority, they gave full scope to that fiery zeal by which they are made to believe that their religion is the only one that is good, and will not permit them to endure any other. They began by persecuting the arians, whose opinions had already made great progress; they proceeded to divest them of all their rights, and even to drive them out of Poland. The greek and protestant christians, who had assisted in persecuting the arians, were very soon punished for their imprudence. The catholics attacked them in their

" account of the difference of our faith, and rites in our
" churches. More than that, if any one should undertake,
" for the above reason, to shed the blood of his fellow-
" citizens, we should be all obliged to oppose him, even
" though he should shelter himself under the pretext of a
" decree, or any other judicial act."

* The bigoted and vicious Henry III. of France.

turn,

turn, and ſucceeded, in 1733, in entirely excluding them from the diets *.

The

* Upon the death of Sigiſmund Auguſtus, in 1574, the poliſh conſtitution was entirely changed, and the nation aſſumed the form of a republic. His grandfather Caſimir III. was the firſt who convened the nobility, in order to oblige them to accept the new impoſitions. Sigiſmund and his father uſed the ſame method; but after his death the whole legiſlative authority fell into the hands of the nobility. At this period, we are told by their hiſtorians, the roman catholics in the kingdom did not bear a proportion in number to the greeks and reformed, of more than one to ſeven. The grand-marſhal Firley, who convened the firſt diet of the republic, that diet which formed its preſent model, and made the crown elective, was a proteſtant. A perpetual peace betwixt the Greeks, the roman catholics, and the proteſtants, was therein eſtabliſhed as a fundamental law of the republic. The wars in Germany under Charles V. and in France under Catharine de Medicis, made them ſenſible of the neceſſity they were under of tolerating each other. They therefore entered into an engagement of mutual defence and affection, and that a difference of religion ſhould never prove the cauſe of civil diſſenſion, unanimouſly reſolving to make an example of that perſon who, under ſuch a pretext, ſhould excite diſturbance. As this law has been repeated in all the public acts, conſtitutions, and pacta conventa, from that time to the preſent, it cannot but be allowed to be a fundamental law: nor can any other law be produced, whoſe ſanction has been more ſolemnly, more conſtantly, and more frequently repeated. However, when the roman catholics, after the death of Sigiſmund III. had

acquired

The humiliation they felt on being deprived of the right of ſuffrage, converted many of the Poles to catholiciſm. But if the diſſidents diminiſhed in numbers, thoſe who remained were only ſo much the more attached to their ſects. Againſt theſe proceedings they urged the treaty of Oliva, concluded in 1660, by which their privileges were ſecured, and of which ſo many potentates were the guarantees. The catholics, who ruled alone in the diets, and conſequently might give ample range to their intolerance, without moleſtation or obſtacle, procured a decree attaching the guilt of high treaſon to ſuch diſſidents as ſhould have recourſe to foreign powers for obtaining the execution of the treaty thus atrociouſly infringed, and the re-eſtabliſhment of the laws ſo deſpotically repealed. This decree was the finiſhing ſtroke to the patience of the diſſidents. Ruſſia obſerved their indignation, and fanned it in ſecret. The greek diſſidents

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acquired a manifeſt ſuperiority, though they did not think proper openly to controvert it, yet they ſhewed a diſpoſition, when opportunity was favourable, to infringe it, by placing under their ſignatures, *ſalvis juribus eccleſiæ romanæ catholicæ*, with a ſaving to the rights of the roman catholic church. Whereupon the diſſidents, by way of repriſal, wrote under their ſignatures, *ſalva pace inter diſſidentes*, with a ſaving to the peace amongſt the diſſidents.

 then

then addreſſed themſelves to the court of Peterſburg. The proteſtants implored the interceſſion of thoſe of London, Copenhagen, and Berlin. Theſe courts promiſed to ſupport them; and this was the moſt ſpecious pretext for the military interference of Ruſſia. This was the ſtate of affairs at the cloſe of the year 1765.

On the aſſembling of the diet on the 1ſt of September 1766, the miniſters of the protecting courts preſented their memorials in behalf of the diſſidents, which excited a violent murmur. Soltyk, biſhop of Cracow, a haughty and fanatical prelate, maintained that the diſſidents had no right of appeal to privileges that were aboliſhed, and that they had violated the conſtitution of the republic in having recourſe to the intervention of foreign powers. Not ſatisfied with the iniquitous laws that had been paſſed againſt the diſſidents, he moved for the enacting of new ones ſtill more ſevere. His opinion was adopted by Maſſalſky, biſhop of Vilna, and a great majority of the nobles, who blindly confounded religious prejudices with political rights; and the oppoſition of ſome perſons, more enlightened or more equitable, occaſioned violent debates. The diſorder roſe to its height. The king attempted to deliver himſelf in favour of more moderate ſentiments: he was abruptly reproached with

being

being an abettor of the enemies of the ſtate. He took the reſolution to retire*. Several other ſittings followed, not leſs ſcandalous than the former; and the terrible laws enacted againſt the diſſidents were imprudently confirmed. The ruſſian troops now advanced to the gates of Warſaw. Prince Repnin demanded in the name of the empreſs, not only a toleration ſecured by law in behalf of the diſſidents, but a complete political equality with the catholic party. This was rejected with a furious triumph. Nothing was now left for the diſſidents, but, what the conſtitution allowed, to confederate: this courſe they immediately adopted under the ruſſian protection. Fear ſeemed for a moment to open the eyes of the diet. It thought to ſatisfy the empreſs by granting the diſſidents ſomewhat more liberty in the exerciſe of their

* The biſhop of Kief had already taken the liberty to ſay in an aſſemby, "that if they would take his advice, "they would have the king hanged; as there were "ſtill ſurely ſome men to be found among the Poles, cha- "ritable enough to do the ſtate that ſervice." The ſame prelate afterwards proceeded from inſolence to fury, ſo far as to tell the king to his face, in preſence of all the court:—"I formerly uſed to pray to God for your proſpe- "rity; my prayer to him at preſent is, that he would ſend "you to the devil."

religion. But this palliative was not ſufficient for Catharine. The diſſidents, continuing to inſiſt on an entire equality of rights, formed into divers confederations, which were preſently joined by numbers of catholics, won over by Ruſſia.

This was a lamentable time for Poland; parties and counter-parties, uniting and ſplitting again into others in the moſt unexampled manner. From grievances in religion political feuds aroſe; ſeveral of the diſcontented went over to the diſſidents, without otherwiſe agreeing with them in opinion. A civil war raged now with all its horrors, and ruſſian troops were every day entering the territories of the republic in greater numbers. A general confederation ſprung up, compoſed of the moſt heterogeneous parts, united neither by a common underſtanding nor by the cement of affection: prince Charles Radzivil, who had been abſent from the country, was their marſhal. This prince had been one of the foremoſt of the opponents to the election of Poniatofsky; for which he had been obliged to quit the country, and ſuffer the confiſcation of his property. He even affected more contempt than hatred towards him. He no ſooner ſaw him abandoned by the Ruſſians, than he united his confederation with thoſe of the diſſidents, and

convened

convened the principal leaders of them in his palace in Warſaw, under the very eyes of the monarch.

1767. In this extremity Staniſlaus Auguſtus, who felt the neceſſity of regaining the protection of Ruſſia, aſſembled a diet extraordinary. This diet, however, but ill correſponded with his views. Notwithſtanding the preſence of the ruſſian army, and the haughty behaviour of prince Repnin, who lorded in Warſaw far more than the king himſelf, the biſhop of Cracow and his adherents, as raſh and fanatical as ever, had the preſumption to make ſpeeches againſt the diſſidents, which common prudence, if not ſound reaſon, ſhould have adviſed them againſt. It was not long before they ſuffered for their folly. That very evening*, while the biſhop was at table at count Miniſheck's, the ruſſian colonel Igelſtrom, followed by a detachment of ſoldiers, entered the room, in the name of the empreſs, and ſeized on the prelate, without meeting the ſmalleſt reſiſtance from any that were preſent. Prince Repnin dictated to the diet the act of confirmation of the rights of the diſſidents; and, to the utter aſtoniſhment of the Poles, who always boaſted of their freedom, cauſed the

* The 13th of October.

furious opposers of that act in the diet, the bishop of Kief, the vayvode of Cracow, count Rjeursky, vayvode of Dolin, his eldest son *, and some other nobles, to be separately arrested in Warsaw, and, together with the bishop of Cracow, conducted to Siberia.

The day following this outrage, prince Repnin addressed to the confederates a note, in which he pretended that he had only violated the liberty of the Poles for the benefit of Poland †.

The

* The second son of count Rjeursky requested permission to accompany his father in bondage. He was answered, that they had no orders to arrest him.

† The declaration of prince Repnin delivered to the confederated estates was as follows: "The troops of her imperial majesty, my sovereign, friends and allies of the confederated republic, have arrested the bishop of Cracow, the bishop of Kief, the vayvode of Dolin, &c. for having failed, by their conduct, in the respect that is due to the dignity of her imperial majesty, by attacking the purity of her salutary, disinterested, and amicable intentions in favour of the republic. The illustrious general confederation of the republic, of the crown, and of Lithuania, being under the protection of her imperial majesty, the undersigned notifies this to it, with positive and solemn assurances of the continuation of that high protection and of the assistance and support of her imperial majesty to the general confederation united for the preservation of the polish laws and liberties, with redress of

The members of the diet ſent up an addreſs to the king, requeſting him to demand the priſoners. The king immediately prayed prince Repnin to releaſe them: but Repnin rejected it with diſdain; and they did not return from the deſarts of Siberia till after an exile of ſix years *.

In the mean time the deliberations of the diet were carried on under the impulſes of fear; and after ſeveral uſeleſs ſittings, a committee was nominated for ſettling the rights of the diſſidents, in concert with the miniſters of the patroniſing courts. They regularly applied for orders to the prince Repnin, whoſe anti-chamber was the

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" of all the abuſes that have crept into the government " contrary to the fundamental laws of the country. Her " majeſty is only deſirous of the welfare of the republic, and " will not diſcontinue to grant it her aſſiſtance to the attain- " ment of that end, without any intereſt or pecuniary con- " ſideration; wiſhing for no other than the ſafety, the hap- " pineſs, and the liberty of the poliſh nation, as that has " been already clearly expreſſed in the declarations of her " imperial majeſty, which guarantee to the republic its " actual poſſeſſions, as well as its laws, its form of govern- " ment, and the prerogatives of each individual. Done at " Warſaw, the 14th of October 1767.

(Signed) " NICHOLAS prince REPNIN."

* In the beginning of the year 1773.

 reſort

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S

resort of the plenipotentiaries from Prussia, England, Denmark, and Sweden; and when the committee had received these orders, it made a report of them to the diet, who were careful not to contradict them. The diffidents therefore obtained whatever the russian ambassador was pleased to demand in their behalf. The ancient laws to which they appealed were once more put in force; and others were enacted which were still more favourable to them. It was, however, nothing more than an act of justice, which had nothing against it but the manner in which it was performed. They had been arbitrarily abolished; it was therefore but right to restore them. The sole cause of affliction to the true friends of the liberty of Poland was a heap of regulations admitted by the orders of Catharine, tending to prolong the troubles and anarchy of that unhappy country, and to leave it for ever without defence against the usurpations which she had in contemplation.

A servile obedience had suddenly succeeded in Warsaw to the excesses of a proud independence. But this forced situation could not long continue. Murmurs were on all lips, and vengeance was in every heart. No sooner had the diet broke up, but the catholic nobles were clamorous in their complaints on account of the

laws

laws promulgated in favour of the diffidents, and formed new confederations for the defence of the romifh religion. The confederates had ftandards, on which were painted the virgin Mary and the infant Jefus: they, like the crufaders of the fifteenth century, wore croffes embroidered on their clothes; and, what was more ridiculous ftill, they put themfelves under the protection of the Turks; and the difciples of Mohammed were preparing to fight in the caufe that was called by the name of Chrift.

Stanislaus Auguftus, unable either to infpire confidence into his fubjects, or to recover the friendfhip of the Ruffians, was the fubject of accufation to all parties, and lived in his capital more like a prifoner than a king. Catharine might perhaps have pardoned him fome moments of defection, but the influence of Orloff oppofed it. Prince Repnin commanded like a defpot in Warfaw; and, to flatter the favourite of his fovereign, he let no opportunity efcape of humiliating a feeble and unfortunate king. We fhall juft cite one fingle fact to prove what little refpect the ruffian ambaffador had for the polifh monarch. One evening that the king was at the theatre, the ambaffador made it late before he came. As he did not appear, the curtain drew up, and the piece began. The performers were

in the ſecond act, when a ſort of buſtle being made in the ambaſſador's box, the king ſent a page to know what was the matter. Anſwer was brought that prince Repnin was come, and was ſurpriſed to find that they had not waited for his arrival before the curtain was drawn up. The king ordered the curtain to be dropped, and the piece to begin again.

All Europe beheld with aſtoniſhment the conduct of the court of Ruſſia. It was thought ſcarcely conceivable that Catharine ſhould become, all at once, the enemy of a king whom ſhe herſelf had put upon the throne. But what could the faint remembrance of an extinguiſhed attachment prevail upon the heart of a princeſs, who was aiming, by impoſing ſhackles on Poland, to domineer over the powers of the north, and to make herſelf formidable to thoſe of the ſouth?

She was ſure that the king of Pruſſia deſired nothing better than to ſhare the poliſh provinces with her. She managed at her pleaſure both Sweden and Denmark, the one by her intrigues, and the other by the hope ſhe held out to it of the ceſſion of Holſtein. She flattered England by a treaty of alliance and commerce. All ſeemed to concur to favour her ambition.

The

The duke de Choiſeul, who, under the appearance of levity, concealed a deep and penetrating genius, and who perhaps was deficient in nothing, for being a great miniſter, but more conſtancy in his deſigns, and leſs propenſity to diſſipate the treaſures of France, was the firſt who diſcovered the ſecret views of Catharine. He ſaw that the augmentation of power which ſhe was about to acquire muſt have a natural tendency to diminiſh the conſideration and influence of the court of Verſailles. He reſolved to attack the evil in its ſource, and, to defeat the projects of Ruſſia by diſſipating its means, he fell upon the deſign of involving it in a war with the ottoman porte.

That miniſter then made application to count de Vergennes, ambaſſador from France to Conſtantinople; and after having ſtated to him the particulars of his apprehenſions, exhorted him to ſecond his projects. The duke de Choiſeul was not ignorant either of the weakneſs and decline of the ottoman empire, nor the vices of a government which were the ſole cauſe of that weakneſs: but he ſtill thought it fit to give Ruſſia employment for a good while to come; and that, whatever might be the ſucceſs of the war, he wiſhed him to undertake it.

Vergennes

Vergennes adminiſtered with no leſs ability than zeal to the views of his court. A long reſidence in Turkey had ſupplied him with an intimate knowledge of the principal members of the divan, and the means of ſucceeding with it. He employed thoſe means. He repreſented to the ottoman miniſters how unjuſt and dangerous it was that Ruſſia ſhould dare to violate the rights of the Poles, and invade their territory. He convinced them that the demarcation of the limits exacted by the court of Peterſburg would be attended with conſequences fatal to the ſecurity of the Euxine; and he adviſed them reſolutely to oppoſe that demarcation *.

The Porte, whom the poliſh confederates had already petitioned for ſuccour, immediately complied with the advice of Vergennes. The turkiſh miniſtry ſent a note to the king of Poland, requeſting that the regulation of the

* The duke de Choiſeul had authoriſed M. de Vergennes to employ the moſt efficacious meaſures for inducing the Turks to declare war againſt Ruſſia. " If you have any " expectation to ſucceed, if you think it poſſible," he writes to him, " every neceſſary ſupply of money ſhall be " tranſmitted to you." M. de Vergennes had the merit of wiſhing to employ no other means than thoſe of perſuaſion. They were ſufficient with him.

limits might be suspended till some explanations should be given him of a nature to remove his alarms concerning the danger with which the cession of the polish territory threatened the ottoman empire. But Stanislaus Augustus, who was for ever afraid of giving umbrage to Catharine, and who was desirous, whatever it might cost him, of regaining her friendship, answered the grand signor, that there was not the least proposal of altering the limits between Russia and Poland; and having received this assurance, the divan returned for some time into its accustomed apathy.

The court of Petersburg then * concluded a treaty of alliance and commerce with that of London; a treaty which extended the privileges of the English, lowered the duties of importation on their merchandize, and granted them great advantages. Her natural inclination for England, as well as the desire of securing additional succours in the war which she was meditating against the Turks, determined Catharine to seek the alliance of the court of London.

Just at this time, when Catharine was displaying her partiality in the most signal manner to the british nation, an affair of gallantry be-

* In the month of December.

tween

tween the minifter of the latter and one of the maids of honour became fo public, that the emprefs could no longer pretend to be ignorant of it; fhe therefore difmiffed the guilty lady from her poft, and forbad, for fome time, the minifter to appear at court.

The feverity fhewn on this occafion by Catharine formed doubtlefs a ftriking contraft with fome parts of her own behaviour. It feems impoffible that fhe could fo ftrangely deceive herfelf as to imagine that the world was not aware of the indulgencies fhe permitted herfelf; but it is neverthelefs certain, that fhe fometimes put on, in the prefence of thofe who knew her beft, as great an aufterity of manners as attachment to religion. Two ladies* of her court, one of whom had formerly been her confidante, being at a mafquerade, were talking pretty loud concerning one of their admirers: the emprefs went up to them, and, with a ftern countenance, ordered them to leave the ball-room, fince they knew no better than to pay fo little regard to decorum.

The diftance Catharine often found it neceffary to affume could neither be fuppofed to gain her the affection of her courtiers, nor to contri-

* Madame Narifhkin and Madame Goloffkin.

bute

bute to reſtore tranquillity to the empire. Princeſs Daſhkoff had been, for the ſecond time, baniſhed to Moſco. That young lady, who ſeemed to find her greateſt pleaſure in braving dangers, revenged herſelf for the ingratitude ſhe thought ſhe experienced, by revealing the crimes of the conſpiracy in which ſhe had acted a principal part, and in fomenting the diſcontents againſt the empreſs. Without eſteeming princeſs Daſhkoff, many perſons partook in her reſentments; and the poiſon of ſedition, artfully mingled by her, was making new progreſs from day to day.

Being informed of the murmurs at Moſco, Catharine feigned to deſpiſe them, and reſolved to ſuppreſs them by her preſence. But as the ſeverity of the winter would ſcarcely permit her to take a long journey, ſhe endeavoured, in the mean time, to divert the diſaffected by the tumult of the pleaſures ſhe contrived for the court. The inhabitants at St. Peterſburg now ſaw two or three tournaments, at which the ruſſian courtiers, arrayed in the habits and the armour of the ancient knights in the days of chivalry, diſplayed more magnificence than gallantry, and greater ſtrength than dexterity. Theſe ſhows, which were continued for ſeveral days, were beheld with general diſapprobation, as frivolous and expenſive.

In

In the amphitheatre erected on purpose for the occasion were two superb boxes, for the empress and the grand duke. In the centre of the arena was raised a throne, whereon sat the grand judge of the exercises, surrounded by forty officers, four heralds at arms, and two trumpets for the purpose of giving signals. Besides these, at four several places, all equally distant from the circus, were kettle-drums and trumpets, making warlike music during the whole time of the carouzel. In short, nothing was neglected that could contribute to the magnificence and effect of the exhibition.

The dames and knights of the tournaments were divided into four quadrilles or troops of horse, representing combatants of four different nations: Sclavonians, Turks, Indians, and Romans; all perfectly observing the customs of those nations, in their dress and ornaments, in their chariots, in their music, and attendants; and were all, ladies and knights, adorned with such a profusion of gold and silver, pearls, and precious stones, on their gorgeous dresses of velvet, silks, feathers, and ermine, that they might truly be said * to

> " Shine with the wealth of Ormus and of Ind,
> " Or what the gorgeous east, with richest hand,
> " Showers on her kings, barbaric pearl and gold."

* With a slight alteration from Milton.

But

But that of the Romans, led on by count Gregory Orloff, was brilliant beyond deſcription. The dreſs of his brother count Alexèy Orloff, chief of the turkiſh cohort, was likewiſe particularly ſplendid.

The four quadrilles rode in great pomp through the principal ſtreets of the city, previous to their aſſembling in the circus.

The ladies of the court jouſted at theſe tournaments, as well as the chevaliers. Tilting at the ring, cutting off the heads of ferocious animals and Saracens, artificially repreſented, then toſſing up the head and catching it on the point of the ſabre, letting off a piſtol at a ſhield, with a variety of atchievements of a ſimilar nature, all performed at full gallop and exactly in time with the muſic, formed the other parts of this magnificent entertainment.

When the carouzel, which had been repeated with conſiderable variations for ſeveral days, was ended, and the company were drawn up in their reſpective troops, the famous marſhal count Munich, who had been appointed grand judge of the field, previous to decreeing the prizes, delivered the following ſpeech, which ſhews that the veteran ſoldier was not unacquainted with the art of flattery:

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S ...

"Illuſtrious ladies and chevaliers,

"None of you is ignorant that not a ſingle "day paſſes, not a ſingle moment, in which we "do not behold the attention of our moſt "gracious ſovereign, towards augmenting the "ſplendour of her empire, towards enlarging the "ſphere of the happineſs of her ſubjects in "general, and towards adding in particular to "the luſtre of her nobility.

"That incomparable ſovereign has made "choice of this grand day, for giving the prime "nobility of her empire an opportunity for "ſignalizing their addreſs and agility in the "martial exerciſes of a brilliant carouzel, and "ſuch as has never yet been ſeen in Ruſſia. "Who does not ſhare with me the ſentiments "of admiration and gratitude ſo juſtly due to "her majeſty for this act of goodneſs and "maternal care?

"Illuſtrious ladies and chevaliers, you have "acquitted yourſelves, in theſe noble exerciſes, "in a manner worthy of your birth, and adapted "to give you the aſſurance of having merited "the gracious regard of her majeſty, the favour "of monſeigneur the grand duke, and univerſal "applauſe."

Then,

Then, turning towards counteſs Boutturlin *, who had gained the principal prize, and which was valued at 5000 rubles, he ſaid,

" It is to you, madam, to whom her imperial " majeſty authorizes me to preſent the principal " prize, the acquiſition of an uncommon dexte- " rity and grace which have won the ſuffrages " of all beholders. Permit me, madam, to be " the firſt to congratulate you on that honourable " diſtinction, which confers on you the right of " diſtributing with your victorious hands, the " reſt of the prizes to the ladies and the " chevaliers.

" As for me, become hoary under arms during " a ſpace of ſixty-five years of ſervice †; I, the " moſt aged in years as well as the oldeſt general " in Europe; after having had the glory of " leading the ruſſian armies more than once " to victory; I regard, as the recompence and " the crown of all my toils, the honour to have " been this day, not only the witneſs, but the " firſt umpire of your reſplendent exploits."

After this the company, to the amount of ſome hundred perſons, ſat down to a ſplendid

* Counteſs Boutturlin was ſiſter to princeſs Daſhkoff and counteſs Elizabeth Romanovna Vorontzoff, the favourite of Peter III.

† He was at that time 84 years of age.

ſupper, the deſſert at the concluſion of which admirably repreſented the circus wherein the carouzel had been performed. All the imperial ſummer-gardens were illuminated throughout, the walks lighted with numerous arches of lamps burning with naphtha, temples of one general radiance, illuminated fountains, and magnificent fireworks; the whole feſtival terminating with a maſquerade in theſe gardens, which continued till day-light the following morning.

But Catharine knew alſo how beſt to employ more worthy means for eſtabliſhing her authority. She ſtill buſied herſelf in making reforms and the erection of uſeful inſtitutions. She corrected the tribunals, ſhe founded ſchools, ſhe built hoſpitals, and planted colonies. She endeavoured to infuſe into her people a love for the laws, and to ſoften their manners by inſtruction. Jealous of a power that knew no bounds, greedy of every ſpecies of glory, ſhe was determined to be at once both conqueror and legiſlatrix. Amidſt conſpiracies formed for overturning her throne, occupied with preparations for war, which ſeemed ſufficient to arreſt her whole attention, and yet finding time for attachments of gallantry, ſhe was unmindful of nothing that could attract the reverence of mankind, and captivate their admiration.

There was at that time no country where the jurisprudence was more perplexed and uncertain than in Ruſſia. The intricate code of Alexèy Michailovitch, compiled that it might ſerve as the baſis to legiſlation, was, if not abrogated, at leaſt contradicted by the numerous edicts of his ſucceſſors, which were always dictated by the intereſt or the caprice of the moment. The ſenate, the colleges, all the tribunals of the empire, embarraſſed by ſo many authorities and ſuch oppoſite laws, protracted cauſes without end, or terminated them without juſtice. To theſe evils a greater yet was added, the venality of the judges and their unlimited power *.

Catharine reſolved to apply a remedy to all theſe diſorders. She proſecuted what ſhe had begun in the ſenate and in the colleges by forming them into ſeparate departments, which, having each but one line of buſineſs, could neceſſarily proceed in a more regular courſe, execute their buſineſs with much greater diſpatch, and give fewer openings to artifice and chicane. In order then to deprive the judges of all pretext or excuſe for either negligence

* The loweſt judge, who frequently had never learnt to read, uſed arbitrarily to put culprits to the torture to extort confeſſion, and condemn a man to the knoot, or to be baniſhed into Siberia.

or prevarication, ſhe augmented the emoluments of their offices, a means unhappily inſufficient, but which proves that Catharine was well acquainted with the ſpirit of the nation which ſhe governed. Indeed, if the magiſtrates had been poſſeſſed of any virtue, would it not be rather from the ſentiment of reputation, than by pecuniary recompences, that they would have been ſtimulated to juſtice? The empreſs therefore put in motion that ſpring which ſhe thought would act with the greateſt force upon them. She tells them in the ukauſe ſhe publiſhed on the occaſion:—" Indigence may perhaps " hitherto have given you a propenſity to ſelf-" intereſt; but now the country itſelf rewards " your labours, and therefore what might here-" tofore have been pardonable, will hence-" forward be criminal."—

Catharine did more than augment the ſalaries of the judges; ſhe ſecured to them an appointment of half-pay for that ſeaſon of life when age and infirmities ſhould oblige them to retire.

Theſe primary matters being arranged, the empreſs ſet herſelf to work on a new code.

All the provinces of Ruſſia, not excepting the barbarous nations who dwell in the remoteſt parts of that vaſt empire, had orders to ſend deputies to Moſco, to preſent their ideas on the

laws

laws that were the fitteſt for their peculiar exigencies. Catharine herſelf repaired to that antient capital. The opening of the ſtates was held with extraordinary pomp. It was ſurely an intereſting and novel tranſaction, to ſee deputies of numerous people, different in their manners, their dreſs, their languages; and they themſelves muſt have been aſtoniſhed at being here thus aſſembled for diſcuſſing their laws, people who had never thought about law but to obey the arbitrary will of a maſter, whom it often happened that they did not know.

The empreſs, deſirous to leave this aſſembly the appearances of the completeſt liberty, had a ſort of gallery conſtructed in the hall in ſuch manner, that, without being perceived, ſhe could ſee and hear all that paſſed. The buſineſs was begun by reading the inſtructions tranſlated into the ruſſian language, the original whereof, in french, almoſt entirely in the hand-writing of Catharine, has ſince been depoſited, encloſed in a magnificent caſe of ſilver gilt, in an apartment of the imperial academy of ſciences at St. Peterſburg.

" The ſovereigns of Ruſſia poſſeſſed the moſt
" extenſive dominions of the world, and every
" thing was yet to be done: at laſt," ſays M. de

Voltaire*, "Peter was born, and Ruſſia was "formed;" that is, doubtleſs, to ſay, that at this period it aroſe out of chaos. The bare idea of making it was grand, and its execution might juſtly excite aſtoniſhment. Tzar Alexèy Michailovitch, his father, had already ſketched out the work, and it muſt be confeſſed that Peter advanced it to a ſurpriſing degree. To leave his country, that he might return to govern it with greater glory; to go and ſeek light in all parts where it enlightened mankind; to ſubmit for ſeveral years to be the diſciple of other nations, in order to become the maſter and the reformer of his own; to work as a ſimple carpenter at Saardam, to prepare himſelf for creating a navy that ſhould be formidable to his enemies; to lower himſelf to a common ſoldier, in order to become a great commander; to form on all hands eſtabliſhments of great utility, till then unknown to his ſubjects; to attack at once all the abuſes both in church and ſtate, in the manners and cuſtoms that had been moſt ſanctioned by inveterate habit; to extend reformation and care to every particular that was deſerving of them; to temper the ſeverity of his diſcipline by the total abolition of the word ſlave; to mix

* Hiſtory of the ruſſian empire, vol. i. p. 74.

pomp with toil, and annex profperity to triumphs; all together charaćterifed him as the great genius, the great man, and the great monarch.

But if that prince, fo juftly renowned to all pofterity, polifhed his country in fo many refpećts; if he made regulations, worthy of admiration and praife, with all this he framed no permanent laws, and much lefs a fyftem of legiflation that fhould embrace all objećts. That great work * was left for Catharine II. She alone conceived the grand idea of undertaking it, and fhe alone had the courage to put it in execution. A code of laws, and efpecially laws founded on wifdom, is the nobleft prefent that can be made to a people: no woman had yet been a legiflatrix; and that part the emprefs of Ruffia refolved to aćt.

The reading of the inftrućtions was frequently interrupted by burfts of applaufe. All prefent extolled the fagacity, the wifdom, the humanity of the fovereign. But fear and flattery had a greater fhare in thefe exclamations than an admiration proceeding from a juft knowledge of the matter. They hoped, perhaps, by that means

* This work may be chiefly taken from the writings of Montefquieu, and feveral others of the french philofophers; but it muft always redound to the glory of Catharine that fhe had the liberality of mind to draw from fuch fources.

to attract the favour of the empreſs, or at leaſt to eſcape Siberia. The deputies of the Samoyedes alone had the courage to ſpeak freely. One of them ſtood up in the name of his brethren, and ſaid,—“ We are a ſimple and honeſt people. “ We quietly tend our rein-deer. We are in “ no want of a new code: but make laws for the “ Ruſſians, our neighbours, that may put a ſtop “ to their depredations.”

The following ſittings did not paſs ſo quietly. Much had been ſaid about giving liberty to the boors. Some thouſands of this oppreſſed claſs of beings were preparing to ſupport by force what they expected from equity. The nobility dreaded an inſurrection: they dreaded, above all, a defalcation of their revenues; and ſome nobles were raſh enough to aſſert, that they would poignard the firſt man who ſhould move for the affranchiſement of the vaſſals *. Notwithſtanding this, however, count Scheremetoff, the richeſt individual of all Ruſſia †, got up, and declared that he would willingly agree to this affranchiſement. The debate was carried on

* This fact has been ſeveral times atteſted by Andrew Schuvaloff, known in France by his pretty epiſtle to Ninon.

† Potemkin was not as yet favourite. Count Scheremetoff poſſeſſed an annual income of 170,000 pounds ſterling. He had belonging to him 150,000 peaſants.

with

with great warmth, which grew to ſuch a height that fatal conſequences were to be apprehended; and the deputies were diſmiſſed to their reſpective provinces.

However, previous to the diſſolution of this aſſembly, the members were required to ſignalize the meeting by ſome conſpicuous act of gratitude. It was thought right that, though the benefit that was intended for the ſubjects ſhould be loſt to them, it ought not to be ſo to the ſovereign, who had conceived the noble idea of it. Accordingly, by a general acclamation, the titles of Great, Wiſe, Prudent, and Mother of the Country, were decreed to that princeſs; but when ſhe was petitioned to accept of thoſe titles, ſhe anſwered, with an aſſumed modeſty, "That if ſhe had rendered herſelf "worthy of the firſt, it belonged to poſterity "to confer it upon her; that wiſdom and pru-"dence were the gifts of heaven, for which ſhe "daily gave thanks, without preſuming to "derive any merit from them herſelf; that, "laſtly, the title of mother of the country was "the moſt dear of all in her eyes, the only one "that ſhe could accept, and which ſhe regarded "as the moſt benign and glorious recompence "for her labours and ſolicitudes in behalf of a "people whom ſhe loved."

Proud

Proud of the work which had obtained her ſuch flattering marks of homage, Catharine eagerly diſpatched copies of her inſtructions to the ſovereigns whoſe approbation ſhe moſt coveted. They complimented her on her laborious enterpriſe, and made no heſitation to pronounce that it would be an eternal monument to her glory. The king of Pruſſia, who knew how ſenſible ſhe was to praiſe, and who was always laviſh of it with leſs delicacy than eaſe, wrote to her a long letter, which, among other things, contained this flattering obſervation: "No "woman has hitherto been a legiſlatrix. That "glory was reſerved for the empreſs of Ruſſia, "who well deſerves it."

The empreſs received this letter at Kaſan, having had a deſire to viſit her provinces in Aſia, and the famous ſhores of the Vôlga. The letter was couched in the following terms:

"Madam, my ſiſter,

"I muſt begin by thanking your imperial majeſty for "the favour you have conferred upon me in the com"munication of your work on legiſlation. Permit me to "ſay, that it is a buſineſs which has had but few examples "in the world; and I may venture to add, madam, that "your imperial majeſty is the firſt empreſs who has made "ſuch a preſent as that which I have juſt now received. "The antient Greeks, who were all appretiators of merit, "in their deifications of great men, aſſigned the firſt place "to legiſlators, whom they deemed the true benefactors of

"the

" the human race. They would have placed your imperial majeſty between Lycurgus and Solon.

" I made it my firſt duty, madam, to read the excellent work which your majeſty has vouchſafed to compoſe; and, that I might keep my mind free from all prepoſſeſſion, I conſidered it as coming from a well-known pen. I confeſs to you, madam, that I was charmed, not only with the principle of humanity and gentleneſs that give birth to theſe laws, but alſo with the order, with the aſſociation of ideas, with the uncommon clearneſs and preciſion that reign in this work, and the immenſe variety of knowledge diſſeminated throughout.

" I put myſelf, madam, in your place, and I immediately perceived that every country demands particular conſiderations, which require the legiſlator to comply with the genius of the nation, in the ſame manner as the gardener accommodates himſelf to his ſoil. There are deſigns which your imperial majeſty is ſatisfied with pointing out, and on which your prudence prevents you from inſiſting. In a word, madam, though I am not thoroughly acquainted with the genius of the people whom you govern with ſo much glory, I ſee enough of it to perſuade me, that if they govern themſelves by your laws, they will be the happieſt nation in the world; and ſince your imperial majeſty is deſirous of knowing all that I think on that matter, I deem it a duty incumbent on me to tell it naturally.

" It is, madam, that good laws, formed on the principles that you have traced out, will require lawyers for their being put in execution in your vaſt domains; and I think, madam, that, after the good you have juſt been doing in legiſlation, you have another boon to grant, which is the inſtitution of an academy of law, for the education of perſons deſigned for the bar, as well judges

"as advocates. However ſimple the ſeveral laws may be, "caſes of litigation, caſes complicated and obſcure, will "ariſe, in which it will be neceſſary to draw up truth from "the well, which require expert advocates and judges to "unravel them.

"This, on my honour, is all that I have to ſay to your "imperial majeſty, unleſs it be, madam, that this eſtimable "monument of your labour and your activity, with which "you condeſcend to truſt me, ſhall be preſerved as one of "the choiceſt pieces in my library. Were there any thing, "madam, capable of angmenting my admiration, it would "be the benefit you have herein beſtowed upon your "immenſe people.

"Accept, with your accuſtomed goodneſs, the aſſurances "of the high conſideration with which I am,

"Madam, my ſiſter,

"Your imperial majeſty's good brother and ally,

(Signed) "FREDERIC."

Count Solms, miniſter of the king of Pruſſia, on ſending this letter to count Panin, wrote him a note to the following purport: "I haſten to tranſmit to your excellency the letter which the king my maſter has had the honour to compoſe, in anſwer to that with which her imperial majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed to accompany the preſent of her inſtruction for the formation of the new code in Ruſſia, ordering me to cauſe it to be preſented to her imperial majeſty. He ſubjoins, with his own hand, in the diſpatch which he has addreſſed to me: "I have read with "admiration the work of the empreſs. I was

"not

"not willing to tell her all that I think of it, "becauſe ſhe might have ſuſpected me of flat-"tery; but I may ſay to you, with due defer-"ence to modeſty, that it is a maſculine per-"formance, nervous, and worthy of a great "man. We are told by hiſtory, that Semi-"ramis commanded armies. Queen Elizabeth "has been accounted a good politician. The "empreſs-queen has ſhewn great intrepidity on "her acceſſion to the throne; but no woman "has ever been a legiſlatrix. That glory was "reſerved for the empreſs of Ruſſia, who "deſerves it."

It certainly redounds much to the praiſe of Catharine, that theſe inſtructions are founded on the principles of an enlightened humanity; and that, though autocratrix and of unlimited power, ſhe recognizes no legitimate authority but that which is founded on juſtice; every particular in her laws has a tendency to enervate deſpotiſm, and to render a juſt authority reſpectable. Her purpoſe is to form a ſolid, and not an arbitrary legiſlation. Her whole plan is directed to prevent all thoſe who govern under her from exerciſing a capricious and cruel authority, by ſubjecting them to invariable laws, which no authority ſhould be able to infringe.

The accomplishment of this grand design, however, did not proceed so easily as the first steps gave room to expect. Either it was found that the plan of a convocation of the nation by its deputies was beginning at too high a pitch, and that in an assembly composed of such a diversity of tribes, manners, and tongues, it would be impossible to come to any common conclusions; or the whole apparatus was used only as a machine, and suffered to fall when it had answered the end for which it was contrived.

A few articles in these instructions will suffice to shew the principles on which they are drawn up.

"The spirit of the nation, the nation itself, "ought to be consulted in the framing of "laws.

"These laws should be considered no other-"wise than as a means of conducting mankind "to the greatest happiness.

"It is our duty to mitigate the lot of those "who live in a state of dependence.

"The liberty and the security of the citizens "ought to be the grand and precious objects of "all laws; they should all tend to render life, "honour, and property, as stable and secure "as the constitution of the government itself.

"The

" The liberty of the ſubjects ought only to be
" reſtricted concerning what it would be diſ-
" advantageous to them to do.

" In cauſes purely civil, the laws ſhould be
" ſo clear and preciſe, that the judgments reſult-
" ing from them be always in perfect uniformity
" in the ſame caſes; in order to remove that
" juriſprudence of deciſions, which is ſo often a
" ſource of uncertainties, of errors, or acts of
" injuſtice, according as a cauſe has been well or
" ill defended at one time or at another, gained
" or loſt according to influence or circum-
" ſtances."

We read with equal pleaſure the inſtructions ſhe preſcribes to be followed in the criminal conſtitution:

" It is incomparably better to prevent crimes,
" than to puniſh them.

" The life of the meaneſt citizen is of conſe-
" quence; and no one ſhould be deprived of it,
" except when the country attacks it or requires
" it.

" In like manner his liberty ſhould be re-
" ſpected, by being difficult about impriſon-
" ment, by carefully diſtinguiſhing the caſes
" where the laws will diſpenſe with it, as alſo
" thoſe in which the public ſafety requires arreſt-
" ation, detention, or formal impriſonment,

"and in this caſe even concerning different "priſons.

"In the methods of trial, the uſe of torture "is contrary to ſound reaſon. Humanity cries "out againſt this practice, and inſiſts on its "being aboliſhed.

"A priſoner is not to be ſacrificed to the tor-"rent of opinions. Judgment muſt be nothing "but the preciſe text of the law; and the office "of the judge is only to pronounce whether the "action is conformable or contrary to it."

Concerning puniſhments:

"The aim of puniſhment is not to torment "ſenſible beings.

"All puniſhment is unjuſt when it is not "neceſſary to the maintenance of the public "ſafety.

"The atrocity of puniſhments is reprobated "by the compaſſion that is due to human na-"ture: whenever it is uſeleſs, it is a ſufficient "reaſon to regard it as unjuſt, and, as ſuch, to "reject it.

"In the ordinary ſtate of ſociety, the death "of a citizen is neither uſeful nor neceſſary."

All that follows under this head, touching the proportion that ſhould be obſerved between crimes and puniſhments; on the rarity of the caſes where the crime deſerves death; on the rule

rule to be obſerved in confiſcations, which the empreſs would not extend beyond acquired property, and a number of other ideas are ſuch as could only proceed from goodneſs of heart and profound meditation. The whole amount of the articles of her inſtructions is in number 525; and the very publication and diſperſion of the book throughout the empire has been attended with ſalutary effects. It was doubtleſs a great and arduous undertaking, and worthy of an exalted mind. The laws of this vaſt empire were voluminous to a degree of the greateſt abſurdity, were perplexed, inſufficient, in many caſes contradictory, and ſo loaded with precedents, caſes, and opinions, that they afforded an eternal ſcene of altercation, and were ſcarcely to be reconciled or underſtood by the very profeſſors of them. The particular laws of the different provinces were alſo continually interfering and claſhing, and cauſed ſuch confuſion that the whole preſented an endleſs chaos, and effaced almoſt every trace of original ſyſtem or deſign. This augean ſtable the empreſs was determined to cleanſe; and though the ſucceſs of her patriotic attempt has not as yet been complete, yet, in conſequence of it, a great ſimplification has taken place in the laws, and a milder and more impartial adminiſtration of juſtice.

The inſtruction of the empreſs is not a law-book itſelf. She only ſays, " Such regulations " ſhould be made.—In the firſt place, it ſhould " be examined, whether," &c. But what excellent ſuggeſtions are thus delivered, which certainly have produced, and muſt continue to produce, great effects. Thus we find it ſaid, chap. xi. " Peter I. promulgated a law in 1722, " that perſons who were not of ſound mind, and " who oppreſs their ſerfs, ſhould be put under " guardians. The former point of this law has " been kept up; why the latter is not enforced " is not known." Again, chap. xii. " It ſeems " too, that the new manner in which noblemen " exact their dues from the peaſantry is hurtful " to population. There is ſcarcely a village " which does not pay certain tributes to its lord " in money. The lord, who never, or but " very rarely, ſees his village, impoſes on every " head a tax of one, two, and even to five rubles, " without concerning himſelf how the peaſant is " to pay that ſum. It will be abſolutely indiſpenſable to preſcribe laws to the nobility, " obliging them to act more circumſpectly in " the manner of levying their dues, and to " require of the peaſant tributes of ſuch a nature " as ſhall remove him as little as poſſible from " his houſe and family. By this means agricul-

" ture

"ture will be better followed, and the popula-
"tion of the empire be increafed. At prefent,
"a labourer leaves his home at the age of fifteen,
"to go and feek his fubfiftence in diftant towns;
"roams about the empire, and pays his dues
"annually from what he earns."

"If, for fome political reafon, it be not prac-
"ticable to free the boors throughout the empire
"from their vaffalage, yet means fhould be
"thought of to enable them to acquire property.
"In purfuance of this idea, fhould not a method
"be devifed for gradually bettering the condition
"of this lower clafs of people?" Is not fuch language, which evinces fo much fagacity and benevolence, the fitteft for the mouth of a monarch who is defirous of making improvements, without undertaking the boifterous and intemperate part of an auftere reformer? It is a great matter, if a prince fhews that he underftands the vices of the country, and knows how they may be remedied. Suppofe even that nothing farther is done, muft not every confiderate fpectator feel himfelf inclined to believe that this fagacity and this benevolence has met with difficulties which were abfolutely not to be overcome? But fuch words are never loft: under Catharine much was effected by what fhe planned with prudent moderation. In fome

 places,

places, however, ſhe expreſſes herſelf deciſively, and with command; and wherever this is the caſe, the inſtruction retains the virtual force of a law.

The whole performance is an excellent compendium of choice obſervations, of juſt maxims, and of generous ſentiments; and at the ſame time a beautiful collection of ſtriking paſſages from the celebrated philoſophers of Greece and Rome, of apt examples from ancient and modern hiſtory, from the manners of cultivated and ſavage nations, and even from ſuch nations as are not ſo well known to the reſt of Europe, for inſtance, the Chineſe and other Aſiatics. Whoever would make himſelf acquainted with the philoſophy of legiſlation, might reap conſiderable advantage by taking it as his manual.

In addition to the paſſages above cited from this work, as a ſpecimen of the ſentiments of Catharine, it will not be amiſs to extract a few others, if it be only to ſhew, that upwards of thirty years ago a monarch delivered the beſt of thoſe which, in the opinion of ſome, were firſt diſcovered by the republicans of the preſent day. A lofty philoſophical ſtation is taken in the 6th chapter: "Several things rule over "mankind, the religion, the climate, the laws, "the maxims of government, the examples of

"things

"things paſt, the manners, the cuſtoms, from "which, as the reſult, a public mind is formed." Elucidations of this maxim from the characteriſtics of various nations ſucceed to this. Then, "It is "the buſineſs of the legiſlator to follow the tem-"per of the nation; for we do nothing better than "what we do voluntarily, and in purſuance of our "natural diſpoſition. For eſtabliſhing a more "perfect legiſlation, it is neceſſary that the "minds of men ſhould be previouſly prepared "for it. But in order to defeat the pretext "uſually alleged, that it is not poſſible to do "good, becauſe the minds are not yet diſpoſed "to admit it, take the pains to prepare them for "it; this will be already a great ſtep advanced." "When it is intended to make great changes in a "nation, that may turn to its benefit, that which "has been eſtabliſhed by laws ſhould be reformed "by laws; and what cuſtom has brought into "practice ſhould be changed by cuſtom; and it "is very bad policy to change by laws what ought "to be changed by cuſtom."

Chap. viii. of puniſhments. "Examine with "attention into the cauſe of all relaxations, and "it will be ſeen that they ariſe from the impunity "of crimes, and not from the moderation of "puniſhments." — "It often happens that a "legiſlator, who intends to correct an evil, con-

" fines his thoughts to that correction: his eyes " are open to that object, and shut to the incon- " veniencies attending it."—Chap. ix. " If you " consider the formalities of justice in regard to " the trouble a citizen has to obtain his right, or " to obtain satisfaction for some injury, you will " doubtless find it too great; if you regard them " in the relation they bear to the liberty and " security of the citizens, you will often find it " too little, and you will see that the punish- " ments, the expences, the delays, even the " danger of the decision, are the price that " every citizen pays for his liberty." Not to be farther tedious, we will conclude with the following: " Would you prevent crimes? Con- " trive that the laws favour less the different " orders of citizens, than each citizen in parti- " cular. Let men fear the laws, and nothing " but the laws. Would you prevent crimes? " Provide that reason and knowledge be more " and more diffused among mankind. To con- " clude, the most sure, but the most difficult " method of making men better is by rendering " education more complete." Nothing that relates to government is left untouched in this little book. The maxims of politics, of tole- ration, and of justice, are thus loudly and pow- erfully delivered from the throne, and have

thereby received, as it were, one ſanction more.

Still proceeding on the ſame enlarged and enlightened plan which we have before had occaſion to commend, the empreſs continued to cultivate and encourage the arts and ſciences; to make her empire an aſylum to the learned and ingenious; and to reform the manners and inſtruct the minds of the people, through the extent of its moſt diſtant provinces.

The tranſit of the planet Venus over the ſun, which was to happen in the ſummer of 1769, added a new opportunity of ſhewing as well her munificence, as the attention ſhe paid to aſtronomy. This great princeſs wrote a letter from Moſco with her own hand, to count Vladimir Orloff, director of the academy of ſciences at Peterſburg; wherein ſhe deſires the academy to inform her of the moſt proper places in her dominions for the making of thoſe obſervations; with an offer to ſend workmen and artiſts, and to conſtruct buildings in all thoſe places which the academy may think proper for the purpoſe, and to grant every other aſſiſtance to the undertaking which it may require. She alſo deſired, if there was not a ſufficient number of aſtronomers in the academy to make obſervations in all the places required, to give her notice,

that

that ſhe might ſend a proper number of the officers of her marine, to qualify themſelves under the eye of the profeſſors in the academy, for that undertaking. Such is the extent of that vaſt empire, that the obſervations which were made, both on the tranſit and exit of this planet, the one in the frozen regions towards the pole, and the other on the borders of the Caſpian, were made within its own limits; to ſome part of which aſtronomers from every part of Europe went to behold that remarkable occurrence.

What appears ſomewhat ſurpriſing is, that while Catharine was ſtriving to build her fame upon a ſolid baſis, ſhe made it a matter of much importance to obtain from all the powers of Europe, the title of Imperial majeſty, which ſome of them had refuſed her. The king of Sweden had long ſince given it to Catharine; but the ſwediſh diet could not be brought to grant it till the commencement of this year, 1767*.

Lewis XV. pertinaciouſly delayed to mention her by that ſtyle. Knowing that the ſovereigns of Ruſſia only began to aſſume the title of emperor in the time of Peter the great, he con-

* The 6th of February.

ſidered them in ſome ſort as a new nobility: not conſidering that it is the power of princes, and not the antiquity of their race, on which their rights are built. This refuſal of the king of France mortified Catharine; but this was not the only reaſon ſhe had to be irritated againſt him. She had no doubt that this monarch was informed of all the ſecrets of the conſpiracy that had placed her on the throne; and ſhe knew, beſides, that the ambaſſador of France at the Porte, had been labouring long to make the Turks declare againſt Ruſſia.

What then would ſhe have thought if ſhe had read a letter concerning this, written by the duke de Choiſeul?—" We know," ſaid he, " the ill-
" judged animoſity of the court of Ruſſia againſt
" France. The king ſo heartily deſpiſes at
" once the princeſs who reigns in that country,
" and her ſentiments and her conduct, that it is
" our intention not to take a ſingle ſtep towards
" inducing her to change them. The king
" thinks that the hatred of Catharine II. is
" far more honourable than her friendſhip. At
" the ſame time he is deſirous of avoiding
" an open rupture."

But the ſhuffling tricks of a foreign court and the dangers of war could cauſe no great diſturbance to Catharine; perhaps they were even

even as neceſſary to her as the cares ſhe beſtowed on the adminiſtration of the empire, for eluding the bitterneſs of ſuch reflections as might occaſionally ariſe in her mind. She often imagined that in one adverſe moment ſhe might be deſpoiled of the fruit of her labours and ingenuity, and that ſome of her ſubjects might be ardently wiſhing for its arrival. The name of Peter III. was become dear to the Ruſſians. They recollected with pleaſure the good he had done, and the deſire he had of doing more: they forgot his failings and infirmities, expiated by a ſeries of misfortunes. They lamented the deplorable end of that prince; and the multitude of malcontents diſperſed throughout the empire, might ſecretly contain more than one avenger.

Senſibly touched with the deplorable death of the tzar, and incenſed at ſeeing his murderers ſharing his power, a young officer, named Tſchoglokoff, reſolved to avenge it, and even thought himſelf inſpired with the deſign by the ſuggeſtions of heaven. After having long reflected on the means of executing his ſanguinary project, he reſorted to the palace for ſeveral days in ſucceſſion, always lurking in ſome of the dark paſſages leading to the inner apartments, to which the empreſs retired when

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ſhe wiſhed to be alone. The preſervation of her majeſty was on this occaſion owing to an accidental circumſtance, by preventing her from going, according to cuſtom, along the paſſage where Tſchoglokoff was waiting her coming. Diſconcerted by a delay which he had not foreſeen, and impatient to ſtrike the blow which he thought beneficial to his country, and glorious to himſelf, this young man had the imprudence to truſt his ſecret to another officer whom he thought his friend. This officer ran in haſte to betray him. Orloff, thus informed of the meaſures that were taken by Tſchoglokoff, and the inſtant when he was again to expect the empreſs, cauſed him to be arreſted in his ambuſcade. He was found armed with a long poignard, and confeſſed, without heſitation, the uſe for which he deſigned it. Catharine, always ſufficiently miſtreſs of herſelf for concealing her indignation and her fears, pretended to forgive the raſh attempt of the youth, whom political fanaticiſm had deluded from his duty. She even had him brought into her preſence, and ſpoke to him with mildneſs. This generoſity was only apparent. Catharine wiſhed to conceal from the public a wicked deſign, which, if it had been known, might ſoon have been imitated. But, as ſhe did

not

not flatter herſelf with the hopes of entirely converting a man who, from an exceſs of humanity, was about to become an aſſaſſin, ſhe quickly cauſed Tſchoglokoff to be put into priſon, and afterwards baniſhed to the heart of Siberia.

Some time before the period of which we are treating, the deputies of the two ruſſian trading companies, one eſtabliſhed at Kamtſhatka, and the other at the mouth of the river Kovima, gave the court of Peterſburg an account of their diſcoveries. Thoſe of Kovima, ſetting out from that river, doubled the cape called Tſchutſki-noſs, in 74 deg. north lat. and falling down to the ſouth, through the ſtrait which ſeparates Europe from America, they diſcovered ſome inhabited iſlands in the 64th degree of latitude, where they went aſhore, and ſettled a trade with the inhabitants, for their fineſt furs, ſome of which they brought to the empreſs, particularly a parcel of the moſt beautiful black foxes ſkins that ever were ſeen. They named theſe iſlands the iſlands of Aleyut; ſome of them are very near the continent of America *. Thoſe of Kamtſhatka went to the northward, and met their companions at the above iſlands; ſo that,

* For a farther proſecution of ſome of theſe diſcoveries the reader is referred to "Varieties of Literature," vol. ii. p. 1. printed for Debrett, Piccadilly.

for the convenience of trade, they fixed a factory at the isle of Beering. When this report was made, the court came to a resolution of pushing these discoveries; and lieutenant colonel Blenmer was sent, with several able geographers, with orders to sail from the river Anadyr to the same coasts, and even beyond them.

About the middle of the year 1767, the empress conceived the useful project of sending several learned men to travel into the interior of her vast territories, to enable themselves to determine the geographical position of the principal places, to mark their temperature, and to examine into the nature of their soil, their productions, their wealth, as well as the manners and characters of the several people by whom they are inhabited.

A country of such a prodigious extent as the russian empire, must naturally attract the notice of every man who wishes to increase his knowledge, whether it be considered in regard to the astonishing number of tribes and nations by which it is inhabited, the great diversity of climates under which they live, or the almost infinite quantity of natural curiosities with which it abounds. But the greater part of this country is still immersed in the profoundest barbarism, and

and almoſt inacceſſible to the inveſtigations of the ordinary traveller. Here vagrant hordes of people, who, entirely addicted to the paſtoral life, roam from place to place, ſhunning the ſocial manners of towns and villages, negligent of agriculture, and leaving uncultivated and almoſt in a deſert-ſtate vaſt tracts of land bleſſed with the moſt favourable ſoil and the moſt happy temperature of ſeaſons: there, peaſants, and even in many places inhabitants of towns, ſlaves to a thouſand prejudices, languiſhing in bondage to the moſt ſtupid ſuperſtitions; brought up, beſides, in the ſevereſt ſervitude, and, being accuſtomed to obey by no other means than blows, are forced to ſubmit to the harſheſt treatment: none of thoſe affectionate admonitions, thoſe prudent and impelling motives, which uſually urge mankind to action, make any impreſſion on their degraded minds; they reluctantly labour the fields of a hard maſter, and ſtudiouſly conceal from his knowledge thoſe riches which ſome accident, ſo deſirable in other countries, ſhould have led them to diſcover; as they would only augment the number of their toils and the heavineſs of their yoke. Hence that careleſs contempt for the treaſures preſented them by nature, and the neglect of thoſe bounties

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ſhe laviſhes on them. Hence thoſe immenſe deſarts almoſt totally deſtitute of cultivation, and ſo many towns that are falling to decay.

Peter the great, of too penetrating a view not to perceive both the evil and its cauſes, took all imaginable pains, and adopted the wiſeſt meaſures to ameſiorate the condition of an empire, ſo powerful from numberleſs other circumſtances, to free his ſubjects by gentle degrees from the ſhackles of barbariſm, to diffuſe on all ſides the benign light of arts and ſciences, to diſcover the treaſures concealed in his dominions, and to furniſh agriculture with the remedies and aſſiſtances adapted to its improvement. His travels into ſeveral countries of Europe for the acquiſition of ſuch kinds of knowledge as were moſt applicable to the uſe of his dominions, are ſufficiently known; as well as that in 1717 he honoured the royal academy of ſciences at Paris with his preſence, and expreſſed his deſire the following year to be admitted a member; that he kept up a regular correſpondence with that illuſtrious body, and that he ſent to it, as the firſt eſſay of his ingenious and magnificent enterpriſes, an accurate chart of the Caſpian, which he cauſed to be ſcrupulouſly taken on the ſpot. At the ſame time he fitted out and diſpatched ſeveral men of letters to various

parts of his empire; one of them to make the tour of Ruſſia, and two others to proceed to Kaſan and Aſtrakhan, to gain information of every thing of conſequence to be known in thoſe countries. In the year 1719, Daniel Amadeus Meſſerſchmidt, a phyſician of Dantzic, was ſent into Siberia, for the purpoſe of making inquiries into the natural hiſtory of that immenſe province, from which expedition he only returned at the beginning of 1727. This learned man did honour to the choice that had been made of him, by an indefatigable activity, and by the proofs he gave of his profound knowledge, not only in every department of natural hiſtory, but likewiſe in antiquities, as well as in aſtronomy, having carefully determined the elevation of the pole in all the places where he ſtopped.

As the northern regions, particularly thoſe of Siberia, were as yet but little known, and as it was very uncertain whether the extremity of theſe latter might not touch upon America, Peter I. ſent from Archangel two ſhips, with orders to proceed, by the white ſea and the northern ocean, into the frozen ocean, where they experienced the ſame diſaſters as had befallen the other veſſels that had gone before them in this attempt; for one of the two was

caught by the fields of ice, and disabled from proceeding any farther; and as no tidings were ever heard of the other, it, in all probability, perished.

Peter I. was not discouraged by the failure of this undertaking; but he was carried off by death as he was preparing a new expedition; he had given the charge of it to two danish captains, Beering and Spangberg, and a Russian named Tschirikoff, with orders to go to Kamtshatka, from whence they were to sail for exploring the northernmost coasts of Siberia. The sorrowful event of the emperor's death made no alteration in these dispositions; and the plan was carried into execution, the same winter, by the empress Catharine, who sent a small company of literati, provided with a paper of instructions, which Peter had framed with his own hand. They returned in 1730, after having penetrated very far towards the north.

The empress Anne was desirous of prosecuting these important researches still farther, and ordered the erection of a new company, in which Beering was to be employed as captain of the ship. Kamtshatka was again the point of departure for making the principal discoveries, with orders to neglect nothing that might shed any light on the knowledge of the globe. One

part of this ſociety was to navigate the northern ſeas, while the others were to repair by land to Kamtſhatka over Siberia. Theſe latter were to act conformably with the inſtructions of the imperial academy of Peterſburg, and to employ themſelves particularly in aſtronomical obſervations, geometrical operations, and deſcriptions relative to the political and natural hiſtory of the countries through which they were to paſs.

John George Gmelin was one of the chief of thoſe who undertook the journey by land; almoſt always accompanied by profeſſor Muller, who had the care of the hiſtorical part. They reached as far as Yakutzk; where Kraſcheninikof, the aſſiſtant Steller, the painter Berkhan, and the ſtudent Gorlanoff, quitted them to go to Kamtſhatka, of which they collected the political and natural hiſtory, as well as that of the department of Okhotzk. M. de l'Iſle de la Groyere likewiſe went thither with ſome land ſurveyors. Afterwards M. Fiſcher was ſent in the department of political hiſtory; he reached very near to the province of Okhotzk, which he left in the deſign of returning *.

* For more particulars the reader is referred to the preface of Mr. J. G. Gmelin to the firſt volume of his travels in Siberia, which appeared at Gœttingen 1751. A french tranſlation, or rather abſtract of it, was given by M. de Keralio, Paris 1767.

In 1760, M. l'abbé Chappe d'Auteroche was ſent into Ruſſia, by order and at the expence of the king of France, for obſerving at Tobolſk the tranſit of Venus over the ſun: his obſervations, publiſhed with great oſtentation, contain not near ſo much as was expected from that academician; and many of thoſe which he relates had been already long ſince known.

The empreſs Catharine II. determined to proſecute theſe uſeful inveſtigations, and accordingly gave orders to the academy of ſciences to make choice of a company of able and learned men to travel over different diſtricts of the empire with attention and obſervation. The ſelection of the learned travellers, the helps that were granted them, the excellent inſtructions and advice that were given them, will be a laſting honour to that academy. The very names of a Pallas, a Gmelin, and a Guldenſtædt, already promiſed much. M. Lepechin had likewiſe acquired a reputation by different papers inſerted in the academical collections; and the reſult of the labours of theſe enlightened men has been ſeen in the extenſive utility which they have ſince produced. Very few of the accounts that have been given by travellers contain ſo great a variety of new and important matters. The journals of theſe celebrated ſcholars even furniſh

ſuch a great quantity of materials entirely new, for the hiſtory of the three kingdoms of nature, for the theory of the earth, for rural œconomy, in ſhort, for ſo many different objects relative to the arts and ſciences, that it would require, according to the judicious remark of M. Bekmann of Gœttingen, whole years and the labour of ſeveral literary men only to put theſe materials in order, and properly to claſs them.

In order to form an accurate idea of the different objects to which our learned travellers were enjoined to direct their obſervations, it will be neceſſary to give an account of the inſtructions delivered to them by the academy at their departure. By theſe they were to make accurate examinations into—1. The nature of the ſoil and that of the waters. 2. The means of putting the deſart places into cultivation. 3. The actual ſtate of agriculture. 4. The moſt common diſeaſes, both of men and cattle; and the methods of healing and preventing them. 5. The breeding of cattle, particularly ſheep, and that of bees and ſilk-worms. 6. The fiſhery and the chace. 7. Minerals and mineral waters. 8. Arts, trades, and objects of induſtry. 9. They muſt alſo apply to the diſcovery of intereſting plants: and, 10. To rectify the poſition of places, to make geographical and meteorological obſervations;

ations; to report all that relates to manners, various cuſtoms, languages, traditions, and antiquities; and mark down exactly whatever they ſhould find remarkable concerning all theſe points.

All theſe different views were fulfilled in a ſuperior manner by theſe gentlemen; and there is no exaggeration in what has been ſaid, that natural hiſtory never at one time obtained ſo great an increaſe of its treaſures, the ineſtimable fruit of the labours of theſe truly uſeful men; and their narratives are become a laſting monument of their zeal, their uncommon talents, and their unwearied activity.

Samuel George Gmelin, phyſician of Tubinguen, began the courſe of his travels June 23, 1768, accompanied by four ſtudents, James Gliutſharef, Stephen Kraſheninikof, Ivan Michailof, and Sergèy Maſlof; having with them an apothecary named Joachim Daniel Luther; Ivan Boriſſof a draftſman, Michael Kotof, a hunter by profeſſion, whoſe buſineſs it was to ſtuff the animals; and a ſufficient eſcort of ſoldiers. He directed his rout, on leaving Peterſburg, through Stararuſſa, Valdai, Torjok, and Moſco, towards Voronetch; where he took up his winter-quarters, and whence he afterwards paſſed through Oſtrogoſk, Pavloſk, Kaſanka,

 Cimlia,

Cimlia, and Tſcherkaſk to Azoff. From this laſt place he ſet out, about the middle of Auguſt 1769, to proceed by Tzaritzin to Aſtrakhan; he paſſed the winter in that city, and only quitted it in June 1770; he traverſed, in this laſt half year, in the whole courſe of 1771, and part of 1772, the north of Perſia; viſited Derbent, Baku, Schamaky, Entzili, Peribazar, Ghilan, Maſanderan, returned to Entzili, where he paſſed the winter, and reſumed, in April 1772, the rout to Aſtrakhan. The third volume of his journal cloſes with the deſcription of theſe countries. This able traveller was continually obliged to ſtruggle with adverſe events, while traverſing the northern provinces of Perſia; he had eſpecially to contend with ſickneſſes, and the difficulties thrown in his way by the khans of that kingdom; and he is deſerving of the title of a martyr to natural hiſtory, with the greater right, as, after having adorned his life with ſo many labours, he cloſed it under the weight of perſecutions, and in the miſeries of captivity *. The

* He was ſeized upon, at 90 verſts from Derbent, in the diſtrict of Uſmey khan, and there actually died in priſon. The empreſs gave a gratification to his widow, after this deplorable event, by granting her one year's pay of the ſalary ſhe had aſſigned to her huſband during his travels, conſiſting of 1600 rubles. If the worthy Gmelin had not undertaken his ſecond

The greater part of the writings he left behind him were forced, not without great difficulty, from the hands of the barbarians.

Peter Simon Pallas, M. D. and professor of natural history, long famous in that branch of knowledge, took his departure from St. Petersburg towards the middle of June 1768. In his progress he visited Novgorod, Valdai, Mosco, Vladimir, Kazimof, Murom, Arsamas, the country extending between the Sura and the Volga, and wintered at Simbirsk, of which he examined all the adjacent parts. The 10th of March 1769, he turned off to Samara, Syzran, Orenburg, crossed the countries watered by the Yaïk, and repaired to Gurief-gorodok, which seemed then to be the general rendezvous of our academical travellers. Here he met, among others, the unfortunate professor Lovitz *, who had

second and unfortunate journey into Persia, rather as a merchant than as a literary man, and if he had not constantly gone by land, he would not easily have fallen into the hands of Usmey khan.

* M. Lovitz lost his life in a dreadful manner, during the time that the rebels, who produced so much confusion in Russia in the preceding war against the Turks, were ravaging the colonies of the evangelical brethren. Our naturalist was

had juſt eſtabliſhed his obſervatory, his aſſiſtant Ichonodzof, and lieutenant Euler: M. Lepechin was alſo at that time in the neighbourhood of Gurief. M. Pallas employed himſelf, during the whole of his ſtay in this place, in examining the coaſts and the iſles of that part of the Caſpian that lay within his reach. Hence he returned by the ſame road, in order to go, by the way of Orenburg, to Oufa, where he arrived the 2d of October; and after having ſpent there the winter, he ſet out, the 10th of March 1770, for the mountains of Oural, and the province of Iſſet: the 23d of June he reached Ekatarinenburg, where he made his obſervations on the great number of mines that are worked in that diſtrict; he proceeded afterwards to the fortreſs of Tſcheliabinſk, whence, about the middle of December, he took his courſe to Tobolſk. M. Pallas

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was taken at Dobrinka, where he thought himſelf in the greateſt ſafety. A band of theſe rebels dragged him as far as the borders of the Slovla, where their chief had his quarters; and, in the month of Auguſt 1774, he was there firſt impaled alive, and afterwards hanged. The aſſiſtants of Lovitz, Ichonodzof and his ſon, having found means of eſcaping, ſaved all his writings and a part of his inſtruments. Several farther particulars relating to this learned traveller, may be ſeen in Buſching's Wochentliche nachrichten, 1775, p. 56 & ſeq.

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had ſojourned the greater part of the winter at Tſcheliabinſk, and traverſed and examined, partly by himſelf and partly by his aſſiſtant M. Lepechin, and by profeſſor Falk, almoſt all the government of Orenburg, when this latter alſo came, about the middle of March 1771, followed ſhortly after by his aſſiſtant Georgi, to join him in this town of Tſcheliabinſk. Captain Ritſchkof, who had hardly quitted M. Pallas all the winter, now left him, and ſet out upon another journey.

M. Pallas finally left his winter-quarters at Tſcheliabinſk the 16th of April 1771, directed his courſe by the Omſk, followed the courſe of the Irtyſh, viſited the mines in the environs of Kolyvan, went to the Schlangenberge (or ſerpent mountains) and to Barnaul; where he found M. Falk ſick, who was come from Omſk by the ſteppes or deſarts of Barabin. From Barnaul M. Pallas proceeded to Toms, and arrived, the 10th of October 1771 at Kraſnoyarſk upon the Yeniſey, which he had made choice of for his winter-quarters. It was there that the ſtudent Suyef came up to him again, in the month of January 1772; he had made, in the courſe of the laſt ſummer, a journey the length of the Obe towards the frozen ocean, and was come to communicate his obſervations to M. Pallas,

M. Pallas, who was again joined, in the month of February, by M. Georgi, who had hitherto ſerved as aſſiſtant to M. Falk, and afterwards by the ſtudents Bykof, Kaſchkaref, and Lebedef, whom M. Falk, forced by the bad ſtate of his health to return, had ſent to M. Pallas.

Our learned traveller left his winter-quarters the 7th of March 1772, to proceed, with M. Georgi and two ſtudents, by Irkutſk to the lake Baikal, whither he had already ſent M. Sokolof in the month of January. After having ſeen the environs of that lake, Selinginſk and Irkutſk, he regained, the 12th of July, the route of Kraſnoyarſk, where he ſet up his winter-quarters, after having viſited the mountains of Sayan. In the month of January 1773, they ſet out on their return, in which they took the way of Tomſk, Tara on the Irtyſh, Kaſan, Sarapul, Yaitzkoi-gorodok, Aſtrakhan, and through the country that borders the Sarpa to Tzaritzin, where he met again M. Sokolof, whom he had ſent to viſit the ſteppe or deſart of Kuman. After having wintered at Tzaritzin, and made ſeveral excurſions from that city towards the Volga, he returned at length by Moſco to St. Peterſburg, where he arrived the 30th of June 1774.

We ſee, by this ſhort ſketch of M. Pallas's travels, that he went over a great part of the ſame countries which the firſt, third, and fourth volumes of the travels of J. George Gmelin had deſcribed. But this ought not to induce us to regard the labour of M. Pallas as a repetition, which might eaſily have been diſpenſed with; the map of M. Gmelin differed entirely from his, and was incomparably more contracted, as to the department of natural hiſtory. Beſides, profeſſor Pallas took quite other courſes than thoſe of M. Gmellin: and Siberia had in the interval acquired an altogether different face, as well by the extenſion of its frontiers, as by the eſtabliſhments that have increaſed its population, by the new and important mines that have been put in produce, and the founderies that have been erected there; ſo that it cannot fail of gaining infinitely by any compariſon that might be made between his accounts and thoſe of Gmelin.

John Amadeus Georgi, member of the ſociety of natural hiſtory at Berlin, was at firſt deſtined by the imperial academy to relieve profeſſor Falk, who was commiſſioned with what was called the expedition of Orenburg, and then known to be in a bad ſtate of health. He ſet out, in conſequence, the 1ſt of June 1770, took the route

route by Mofco and Aftrakhan, and met M. Falk in the fteppe of the Kalmucs, very near to an armenian caravan. He followed him acrofs that fteppe to Ouralfk (at that time Yaitzkoi-gorodok) and to Orenburg, where they remained till the end of the year. At the beginning of 1771, they travelled by confent into the province of Iffet, M. Falk along the lines of Orenburg, and M. Georgi by the Bafchkie and the Oural. He took, during the illnefs that detained M. Falk, feveral little journies from Tfchelyœba, capital of the province, towards feveral places, for obferving a variety of natural curiofities, and the nations of the country; finding themfelves at length in a capacity to continue their courfes, at the latter end of June M. Falk proceeded by Ifetfkoi to Omfk on the Irtyfh, and directed M. Georgi to come and join him at the laft-mentioned place by the new lines of Siberia, or of Ifchim on the frontiers of the Kirghifes. They then proceeded in company acrofs the fteppe of Barabin, to fee the filver mines of Kolyvan near the Obe. They went alfo afterwards to vifit Barnaul, and, as much as a ferious malady, with which M. Falk was attacked anew, would permit, the mountainous diftrict of the mines of Altai, and the founderies that depend on Barnaul. Towards the end of November they

they continued their journey, following the firſt elevations of mount Kuſnetzk, to Tomſk. It was in this city that M. Falk received from Peterſburg a permiſſion to return, on account of his ill ſtate of health. M. Pallas, the chief of the expedition, now remaining alone in the vaſt regions of Siberia, M. Georgi, as we have already ſeen, was entered of his company, and travelled, though ſeparately, under his direction.

We ſhall here give a ſhort intimation of the places viſited by M. Georgi: from Irkutſk he proceeded to the lake Baikal, of which he drew an excellent chart, and thence into Dauria, for the purpoſe of examining the mines of that name, and into the diſtrict of the mines of Arguſſin; thence he returned by Irkutſk to Tomſk, Tara, Tobolſk, Iſetſkoi, Ilina, Ekatarinenburg, and Oufa, viſiting all the mines of thoſe countries; he returned thence by Perme, on the Oural of the Baſchkirs; once more from Oufa to Tzaritzin and Orenburg; and laſtly along the Volga, from Aſtrakhan to Peterſburg by Saratof, Bolgari, Kaſan, Makarief, Pavlova, Niſhneynovgorod, Yaroſlavl, and Tver. On the 10th of September 1774, he arrived in the imperial reſidence.

On coming to Kaſan in March 1774, M. Georgi found profeſſor Falk ſtill there, and extremely ill, which he terminated, together with his life, by his own hand a few days after. Two or three particulars of his life* will not be diſagreeable to the reader.

M. Falk was born in Weſtrogothia, a province in Sweden, about the year 1727. He ſtudied medicine in the univerſity of Upſal, and went through a courſe of botany under the celebrated Linnæus, to whoſe ſon he was tutor. He publicly defended the diſſertation † which that famous botaniſt had compoſed on a new ſpecies of plants, which he called Aſtromeria. In the year 1760, when M. Georgi for the firſt time was at Upſal, the latter was already ſo deeply affected with depreſſion of ſpirits, that M. de Linné, in the view of obliging him to take exerciſe and diſſipation, ſent him to travel over the iſland of Gothland, to make a collection of the plants it produces, and the various kinds of corals and corallines which the ſea leaves on its ſhores. This voyage was attended with no diminution of his diſtemper, which found a

* From the journal of M. Georgi.

† In the collection known under the title of *Linnæi amænitates academicæ.*

continual

continual ſupply of aliment in a ſanguine melancholy temperament, in a too ſedentary way of life, and in the bad ſtate of his finances.

Profeſſor Forſkael having left Upſal for Copenhagen in 1760, Falk followed him thither, in the deſign of applying, by the advice of M. de Linné, to be appointed aſſiſtant to M. Forſkael in his famous journey through Arabia; but, notwithſtanding all the pains that M. Œder and ſeveral other men of literary reputation at Copenhagen took in his behalf, his application failed, as the ſociety that were to go on that important expedition was already formed. Obliged, with much diſcontent, to return, he herboriſed as he travelled, and enriched the Flora Suecica with ſeveral new diſcoveries.

A man in office at St. Peterſburg, having written to M. Linné to ſend him a director for his cabinet of natural hiſtory, M. Falk accepted the poſt, which led him to the chair of profeſſor of botany at the apothecaries garden at St. Peterſburg, a place that had been vacant from the time that it was quitted by M. Siegeſbek. His hypochondriac complaint ſtill continued to torment him. When the imperial academy of ſciences was preparing in 1768 the plan of its learned expeditions, it took M. Falk into its

 ſervice,

ſervice, though his health was uncertain. He was recalled in 1771; but, having got only to Kaſan in 1773, he there obtained permiſſion to go and uſe the baths of Kiſliar, from which he returned again to Kaſan at the end of the year with his health apparently better.

But his diſeaſe ſoon returned with redoubled violence. From the month of December 1773, he had never quitted his bed, nor taken any other nouriſhment than bread dried in the ſwediſh manner (knækebrœd), of which he ſcarcely took once a day ſome mouthfuls dipped in tea. At firſt he received the viſits of a few friends; but afterwards denied himſelf to them, and was reduced to the ſtricteſt ſolitude. When M. Georgi went to ſee him, nothing ſeemed left of him but a ſkeleton of a wild and terrifying aſpect. The few words he drew from him conſiſted in complaints occaſioned by a hoſt of diſeaſes which kept his body in torture, and threw him into the moſt cruel ſleepleſſneſs. The laſt evening M. Georgi kept him company till midnight. He ſpoke little, and ſaid nothing that could give reaſon to ſuſpect the deſign he was meditating. His hunter, and at the ſame time his truſty ſervant, offered to ſit up with him the night; but he could not be perſuaded to conſent.

M. Georgi

M. Georgi being requested the next day, March 31, to come to the lodging of the unfortunate gentleman, he found him lying before his bed, covered with blood; beside him lay a razor, with which he had given himself a slight wound in the throat, the fatal pistol, and a powder-horn; all together presenting a tremendous spectacle. He had put the muzzle of the pistol against his throat, and, resting the pommel upon his bed, he discharged the discontents in such manner, that the ball having gone through his head, had stuck in the cieling. His soldier had seen him still sitting up in his bed at four o'clock, at which time he usually fell into a short slumber. In his chamber was found a note written the evening before, betraying throughout the distracted state of his mind, but nothing declaratory of his design, or that was of any importance.

M. Falk, like all hypochondriac persons, was not very communicative, and on certain occasions was distrustful. But at the same time he was of a sedate temper, complaisant, and upright, which made it a very easy matter to bear with him, and secured to him the indulgence of all his acquaintance. His extreme sobriety had enabled him to make some savings from his pay, though he was very beneficent; it was not there-

therefore indigence that drove him to this act of violence. He was of a cold constitution, preferring solitude and quiet to society, to the company of his friends, and to ordinary amusements, which yet he did not shun, except in the latter period of his life. As to religion, he shewed on all occasions more respect for it, than any strong effusions of zeal. It was solely to be ascribed to the violence of his distemper, and the weakness of mind which it brought on, that led him to put a period to his days. The fate of this unfortunate scholar was generally and justly lamented*.

In the number of those who were of the expedition of M. Pallas was also captain Nicholas Rytschkof, son of Peter Ivanovitch Rytschkof, counsellor of state, who made himself famous for his topography of Orenburg. Rytschkof, the son, in 1769, went over some districts of the

* His papers were found in the greatest disorder. They contain, however, very useful and important relations. He particularly made it his business to inquire about the Kirguises and other tartarian nations; and as he frequently remained for the space of nine months together in the same place, he was enabled to procure satisfactory notions concerning the objects of his investigations. The imperial academy, in 1774, appointed professor Laxmann to arrange his manuscripts in order for publication; which was done accordingly.

governments of Kaſan and Orenburg; proceeded eaſtwards from Simbirſk, and thence northwards beyond the Kama, declining afterwards to the north-eaſt along the Oural mountains, which he traverſed in his way to Orenburg. In 1770 he viſited the countries extending the length of the weſtern bank of the Bielaya, as far as the Kama, which he courſed as far downwards as Kaſan; then croſſing the province of Viatki, he paſſed on to Glinof, came into Perme, and ſurveyed the environs of Solikamſk; thence, deſcending along the Kama nearly as far as Koungour, he proceeded by Ecatarinenburg ro Tſchelyabinſk. In 1771, on departing from Orſk, he viſited the ſteppe of the Kirghis-koſaks on this ſide the Yaïk, paſſed the rivers Irgis and Turgai, came as far as the mountains of Ulu-tau, thence bore away to Uſt-wiſk and Orenburg, and came at laſt, by a part of the province of Ouſa, quite to the Dioma.

M. Lepechin, by birth a Ruſſian, who, after having gone through his firſt ſtudies at the imperial academy of ſciences at St. Peterſburg, went to purſue a courſe of medical ſtudy at Straſburg, where he was admitted M. D. and was received in 1768 as adjunctus, and in 1771, member of the ſame imperial academy, was at the head of another of theſe expeditions. He ſet

out the 8th of June 1768, from Peterſburg, proceeded ſtraight to Moſco; thence by Vladimir, Murom, Arſamas, Alatyr, conſequently by the government of Niſhney-novgorod, to Simbirſk in the province of Kaſan: from which place he ſet out in the month of Auguſt, to viſit the courſe of the river Tſcheremſchan, which divides the government of Kaſan from the province of Stavropol, and thence travelled over various parts of the government of Orenburg. In autumn he reached Stavropol, paſſed the winter at Simbirſk, and the ſpring of 1769 in the province of that name: the following ſummer he came to Aſtrakhan; from which city, in the month of Auguſt, he made an extremely remarkable journey to Gurief, croſſing the ſteppe which extends between the Volga and the Yaïk; from Gurief he went up along the Yaïk as far as Orenburg, and reached in the month of October the little town of Tabynſk ſituate near the centre of the Oural of Orenburg on the river Bielaya, where he wintered. In the month of May following, he purſued upwards the courſe of the Bielaya, examined the mountains, came in July to Ecatarinenburg, ſtruck forwards into the Oural, and attained, beyond the Koungour, to the ſummit of the higheſt of the Oural of Orenburg, whence he returned to Ecatarinenburg,

burg, and paſſed the winter at Tiumen in the province of Tobolſk.

In the month of May 1771, he reached the ſummit of the higheſt mountain of the Oural-chain, which runs between Verkoturia and Solikamſk, viſited, during the ſummer, the province of Viatka, proceeded by Ouſtioug to Archangel, where he embarked in order to examine the coaſts of the White Sea. He made Archangel his winter-quarters that year. The following year, 1772, was employed by our learned traveller in making a ſecond courſe on the ſea juſt mentioned, along the ſhores and the iſles lying to the left of Archangel, as far as the weſtern and northern coaſts, proceeding thence to the mouth of the White Sea: he afterwards doubled Kanin-noſs, and at length returned by the gulf of Mezen to Archangel, whence he ſet out, towards the cloſe of the year, for St. Peterſburg. During the ſpring and ſummer of 1773, he viſited the environs of Pſcove, Velikiye-Luki, and Toropetz, with divers other parts of the governments of Pſcove and Mohilef: in the month of Auguſt he went from Polotzk, along the Duna to Riga; whence he proceeded, following the ſea-ſhore, to Pernau, then to Valk, Neuhauſen, and Pſcove; after which he returned in December

to St. Peterſburg, and probably thus terminated the travels on which he was ſent.

Dr. J. Guldenſtædt took his departure about the middle of June 1768, from St. Peterſburg, in order to proceed, by Novgorod, along the weſtern coaſt of the lake Ilmen, by Porkof, Staraia-ruſſa, and Toropetz, to Moſco, where he tarried from the 11th of September to the 8th of March 1769; when he ſet out for proceeding by Kolomna, Epiſani, Toula, and Eletz, to Voronetch; thence to Tavrof, to Tambof, to the fortreſs of Novochoperſkaia; and after having courſed along the rivers Chopa, Medvieditza, and the banks of the Don, he arrived the 11th of October at Tzaritzin, where he remained till the 23d of November: he afterwards went to Aſtrakhan, where he arrived the 4th of December, and then proceeded to Kitzliar, a ruſſian frontier town on the river Terek. This place he quitted in 1770, to viſit the countries watered by that ſtream, by the Kunbalni, the Soontſcha, the Akſai, and the Koiſa, with the north-eaſt parts of mount Caucaſus; being often obliged in this courſe to return to Kitzliar, chiefly becauſe of the little ſafety he found in traverſing thoſe parts. It was for this reaſon, and on account of an illneſs that

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detained him, that he did not reach Georgia that year.

The 10th of February 1771, M. Guldenſtædt left Kitzliar, with a detachment of ruſſian troops, for Oſſetia, which is a diſtrict of mount Caucaſus; and ſo ſoon as the 17th of March he was already returned to Kitzliar, which he quitted for the laſt time the 18th of May, in order to go to the hot baths on the borders of the Terek. One of the moſt conſiderable of the princes of the leſſer Kabarda accompanied him, and ſhewed him, during the months of July and Auguſt, all that country, and the northern part of the caucaſian mountains, inhabited by the Dugores. Thence he returned a ſecond time to Oſſetia on the Terek, whence he departed the 11th of September under the eſcort of ſome hundreds of Oſſetians, whom the tzar Heraclius had taken into his pay, and happily arrived with them in Georgia. He was, the 25th of September, at Duſchet, a town of Karduelia. The 9th of October he left that country, in order to proceed to the river Kur, at the ſame place where tzar Heraclius had appointed his troops to make their general rendezvous, and which was only 15 verſts diſtant from Tefflis, its capital. It was there that M. Guldenſtædt had an audience in form of the tzar, who embraced him, made him

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ſit down in his preſence, and promiſed to grant him every aſſiſtance that he ſhould want; which promiſe he afterwards fulfilled. He made the campaign with the tzar, who puſhed with the main body of his army to the diſtance of above 120 verſts up the courſe of the Kur; and he returned to Teflis with that prince the 14th of November. He left this place again the 21ſt of February 1772, for Kachetia, always in the ſuite of the tzar, and paſſed the whole of the month of March in that province of Georgia. He traverſed, in the month of May, thoſe provinces of Turcomania which are in ſubjection to tzar Heraclius. The 20th of June he went, for the laſt time, to Teflis, in the reſolution of quitting Georgia, after he ſhould have made the tour of the provinces of tzar Solomon, and to return to Moſdok on the river Terek. On the 18th of July he made his obeiſance to that tzar, who had ſet up his ſummer-camp on the ſouthern bank of the river Rion, ſome verſts below the fortreſs of Minda. The prince gave our traveller a very gracious reception. The 5th of Auguſt 1772 he quitted the diſtrict of Radſcha, which makes part of the kingdom of Immeretia, and repaired to Kutatis, the capital of the lower Immeretia; then made the tour of the frontiers of Mingrelia and Guria, the eaſtern part of Immeretia

Immeretia and middle Georgia. Tzar Solomon had given him an efcort of 300 Immeretians to attend him on his tour. As he was preparing to proceed farther on, he was forced for fome time to fufpend his march, as the greater part of his people had fallen fick. In this interval he received a fupply of men, horfes, and provifions, from a georgian nobleman whom a little before he had cured of an ailment. On the 1ft of October he reached the laft grufinian or georgian village, where he was again obliged to ftop for a month, in confequence of advices that he received of 300 Affetinians who were waiting on the fhore of the Terek to attack and to plunder him. In the interim the major general of Medem, being informed of his fituation, fent a detachment of 600 men with two pieces of cannon, at the arrival of whom the robbers difperfed. By this means Mr. Guldenftædt happily regained the frontiers of Ruffia, and returned firft to Mofdok and afterwards to Kifliar. In April 1773, he made an excurfion to Petersbade [the baths of Peter], whence he returned the fucceeding month and immediately fet out for Mofdok, and in the month of June went upwards along the Malka. From that river he turned off towards the eaftern branch of the Kuma, and proceeded to the five mountains

or Besch-tau, which form the highest part of the first elevation of Caucasus: he visited the mines of Madschar, from which he took the route of Tscherkask, where he arrived the 24th of July. From this last town he made a tour to Azoff; being returned to Tscherkask, he proceeded by Taganrog along the sea-coast, crossed the river Kalmius, following at the same time the Berda and the new lines of the Dniepr, and came by the eastern bank of that river to Krementschuk, the capital of the government of New-Russia, where he arrived the 7th of November, and passed the rest of the winter. He had not yet quitted this government, though already on the way to the Crimea, when he received orders on the 20th of July 1774, as did all the other academical travellers, to return to St. Petersburg. Accordingly he turned back, and came by Krementschuk, and along the lines of the Ukraine as far as Bielefskaia-krepost; thence bent his course over Bachmut, and beyond towards the south-east and the east, as far as the rivers Mius and Lugantschik. Being returned to Bielefskaia-krepost, he left it for the second time the 16th of December, and came by Kief to Serpukof; where, having collected all the persons and all the effects belonging to his expedition, he took his departure the 20th of

of December for Mosco, and in the course of March arrived at St. Petersburg*.

Such is the general outline of these interesting travels from which the learned of Europe have received so much information, and which could not with propriety have been passed over with slighter notice in this history; yet for the particulars of them the reader must be referred to the accounts that have been published by the travellers themselves. The discoveries made by the Russians at sea at various epochas, and particularly during the reign of Catharine II. have been so faithfully laid before the public by Mr. Coxe in his well-known work professedly written on that subject, that it would be unnecessarily swelling the bulk of these volumes to say any more of them here. However it is impossible to take leave of these expensive and important missions without testifying our acknowledgment, with that ingenious and candid writer, of the benefits that have accrued to science from these learned and laborious investigations, and to join with him † and every friend

* See Bachmeister's Russische Bibliothek, tom. i, ii, and iii. where very circumstantial accounts of all the several courses pursued by these travellers are to be found.

† Coxe, Russian Discoveries between Asia and America, preface, p. xi.

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to rational inquiry, "in the warmeſt admiration "of that enlarged and liberal ſpirit, which "ſo ſtrikingly marked the character of the late "empreſs of Ruſſia; who, from her acceſſion to "the throne, made the inveſtigation and diſ-"covery of uſeful knowledge the conſtant object "of her generous encouragement. The au-"thentic records of the ruſſian hiſtory were by "her orders properly arranged; and permiſſion "was granted of inſpecting them. The moſt "diſtant parts of her vaſt dominions were at her "expence explored and deſcribed by perſons of "great abilities and extenſive learning; by "which means new and important lights have "been thrown upon the geography and natural "hiſtory of thoſe remote regions. In a word, "this truly great princeſs contributed more "in the compaſs of only a few years, towards "civiliſing and informing the minds of her "ſubjects, than had been effected by all the "ſovereigns her predeceſſors ſince the glorious "æra of Peter the great."

The court of Catharine became now the aſylum of the ſciences, to which ſhe invited learned men from every part of Europe. Among the reſt the celebrated profeſſor Euler from Berlin, on whom her majeſty ſettled a large annual ſtipend, made him a preſent of a houſe, beſides

besides shewing him many other marks of her imperial favour and protection. Well knowing, that it is not so much by the power of arms as by precedence in the sciences and the arts that nations obtain a conspicuous place in the annals of the world, Catharine with a laudable zeal encouraged artists and scholars of all denominations. She granted new privileges to the academy of sciences, and exhorted its members to add the names of several celebrated foreigners to those which already conferred a lustre on their society.

Nor was she less attentive to the academy of arts, by increasing the number of its pupils, and adding such regulations as tended more than ever to the attainment of the end of its endowment. Scholars were now not to be taken in after the age of six years, that the defects of a bad education might not yet have had time to spoil their temper or corrupt their manners. Delivered for three years to the care of women, they are then put into the hands of tutors, and are devoted to the art to which they shew the most inclination. They may become painters, sculptors, architects, watchmakers, engravers, or learn the art of casting in metals, and of making mathematical and optical instruments. During the whole of the time they are in the academy

they are not permitted to receive any thing from their parents. They are clothed, fed, and lodged at the public expence. At the end of 15 years they leave the inſtitution; and, if their behaviour correſponds with the pains that have been beſtowed on their education, they are granted patents of nobility.

Independently of theſe advantages, ſuch of the pupils as have carried the higheſt prizes, receive the before-mentioned penſion, for travelling three years over Europe.

It is frequently obſerved, that though this inſtitution has now ſubſiſted upwards of half a century, yet it has produced no great artiſt; and that it has ſerved no other purpoſe than to furniſh Voltaire with a ſubject of pompous declamation, and to make annually a paragraph in the newſpapers of Germany, oſtentatiouſly deſcribing the ceremony of diſtributing the prizes in the preſence of the empreſs and the grand duke, with their pathetic ſpeeches on the occaſion; and that, anſwering that purpoſe, nothing farther was intended. Yet even admitting the love of fame to be the only motive at the time, the inſtitution may hereafter find motives of its own, ariſing from intereſt, or a deſire of excelling, as a civilized public ſhall increaſe, and the approbation of their performances no

longer be confidered as a matter of form and confined to the court.

Still farther to encourage the fine arts in her dominions, the emprefs affigned an annual fum of 5000 rubles for the tranflation of foreign literary works into the ruffian language.

At this time, 1768, the fmall-pox was very rife in St. Peterfburg, which occafioned the emprefs and the grand duke her fon to remain at Tzarfko-felo, inftead of coming to town as ufual. The countefs Scheremetoff was carried off by that diftemper a few days before fhe was to have been married to count Panin, for which event great preparations had been made. It was neither poffible, nor was it material, to afcertain how the infection penetrated the receffes of the court; but perfons of rank and fortune were alarmed that neither one nor the other afforded any fecurity againft the ravages of this dreadful difeafe. The danger to which her majefty and the grand duke were expofed, together with her majefty's zeal for the welfare of her fubjects, gave rife to a propofal for introducing the practice of inoculating.

The firft perfonages in the empire determined to fet the example, by fubmitting to the operation; and a refolution was accordingly taken by the emprefs, to invite a phyfician from England,

 where

where inoculation had been moſt practiſed, and was generally allowed to have received ſome modern and very conſiderable improvements *.

Accordingly Dr. Thomas Dimſdale, about the beginning of July 1768, received a letter at Hertford from M. Pouſchin, the ruſſian miniſter at the court of London, repreſenting that the empreſs, having a deſire to engage an able phyſician to go to St. Peterſburg, in order to introduce inoculation, he wiſhed to ſee him as ſoon as poſſible. At the interview that enſued, great encouragements were held out; but the doctor, from domeſtic conſiderations, at firſt ſhewed ſome heſitation; when a ſecond courier arriving, and ſome circumſtances rendering it apparent that the empreſs and grand duke were immediately intereſted in the application, he prepared for his journey with all expedition, and accordingly ſet out on the 28th of July.

Two days after his arrival, the doctor, in conſequence of a previous notice, waited on count Panin, who, after the uſual ſalutations, ſaid to him, "You are now called, ſir, to the moſt "important employment that perhaps any gen-"tleman was ever entruſted with. To your

* See tracts on inoculation, written and publiſhed at St. Peterſburg in the year 1768, by command of the empreſs of Ruſſia, by the hon. baron T. Dimſdale, 1781.

" ſkill and integrity will probably be ſubmitted
" no leſs than the precious lives of two of the
" greateſt perſonages in the world, with whoſe
" ſafety the tranquillity and happineſs of this
" great empire are ſo intimately connected, that
" ſhould an accident deprive us of either, the
" bleſſings we now enjoy might be turned to
" the utmoſt ſtate of miſery and confuſion.
" May God avert ſuch unſpeakable calamities!
" But the hazard of the infection of the ſmall-
" pox, in the natural way, is ſo threatening,
" that we are compelled to have recourſe to the
" expedient of inoculation; which, though ſo
" little known in this country, has been adopted
" and practiſed in England with the greateſt
" ſucceſs. We have phyſicians of great learn-
" ing and abilities in their profeſſion; but not
" being experienced in this new branch of
" practice, her imperial majeſty was pleaſed to
" lay her commands upon her miniſters, to
" inquire after and engage a perſon of the beſt
" abilities in it, and whoſe ſucceſs had been
" confirmed by long practice. You come to
" us well recommended in theſe eſſential points;
" I ſhall therefore repoſe the utmoſt confidence
" in you, and have only to requeſt that you
" will act without the leaſt reſerve.

 " As

" As to the reſolution of the empreſs in this " particular, with regard to herſelf, I muſt " leave to her majeſty to explain her own ſen- " timents; but with reſpect to the grand duke, " he is already determined on the operation, " provided you encourage it: it has been ſub- " mitted to his own conſideration; he approves, " and even wiſhes it. I have therefore to " requeſt, that before an affair of ſo great con- " ſequence is finally ſettled, you would make " yourſelf well acquainted with his conſtitution " and ſtate of health.

" His imperial highneſs knows you are ar- " rived, expects to ſee you, and invites you to " wait on him to-morrow. I can venture to " aſſure you, that he will be eaſy of acceſs, " and willing to be acquainted with you. Be " with him as much as poſſible; ſee him at his " table, and at his amuſements; make your " obſervations, and, in ſhort, ſtudy his conſti- " tution. Let us not be too precipitate; but " when every circumſtance has been duly " attended to, report your opinion freely, and " depend on this, that if you ſhould deem the " operation hazardous, and adviſe againſt it, " we ſhall think ourſelves equally obliged to " you; nor will the acknowledgments on ac-

" count

"count of this expedition be inferior to what "it will be upon the utmoſt ſucceſs."

In anſwer to this, the doctor aſſured the count, that he would in every reſpect attend to his intimations, and that he might depend on his making a juſt report.

The empreſs came to town that evening, and the next day, the two Dimſdales were preſented. On this occaſion there were only preſent with her majeſty, count Panin and baron Cherkaſſoff, preſident of the college of medicine, who having been educated at the univerſity of Cambridge, ſpoke very good engliſh. Catharine ſhewed great perſpicacity in the queſtions ſhe put concerning the practice and ſucceſs of inoculation. On his retiring, Dr. Dimſdale was invited to dine with her majeſty the ſame day; and as the account of the manners obſerved at the empreſs's table will neither be foreign to our purpoſe, nor unentertaining to the reader, we ſhall give it in the doctor's own words:

"The empreſs ſat ſingly at the upper end of a long table, at which about twelve of the nobility were gueſts. The entertainment conſiſted of a variety of excellent diſhes, ſerved up after the french manner, and was concluded by a deſſert of the fineſt fruits and ſweetmeats, ſuch as I little expected to find in that northern cli-

 mate,

mate. Moſt of theſe luxuries were, however, the produce of the empreſs's own dominions. Pine-apples indeed are chiefly imported from England, though thoſe of the growth of Ruſſia, of which we had one that day, are of good flavour, but generally ſmall. Water-melons and grapes are brought from Aſtrakhan; great plenty of melons from Moſco, and apples and pears from the Ukraine.

"But what enlivened the whole entertainment was the moſt unaffected eaſe and affability of the empreſs herſelf. Each of her gueſts had a ſhare of her attention and politeneſs; the converſation was kept up with a freedom and cheerfulneſs to be expected rather from perſons of the ſame rank, than from ſubjects admitted to the honour of their ſovereign's company."

On the following day another converſation with the empreſs enſued, in which Dr. Dimſdale requeſted the aſſiſtance of the court phyſicians, to whom he deſired to communicate every propoſed regulation and medicine; but the empreſs would by no means conſent to any ſuch conſultation, and gave her reaſons as follows:

"You are come well recommended to me; "the converſation I have had with you on this "ſubject has been very ſatisfactory; and my "confidence in you is increaſed. I have not "the

"the leaſt doubt of your abilities and knowledge "in this practice; it is impoſſible that my "phyſicians can have much ſkill in this opera-"tion; they want experience; their interpoſi-"tion may tend to embarraſs you, without the "leaſt probability of giving any uſeful aſſiſtance. "My life is my own; and I ſhall with the "utmoſt cheerfulneſs and confidence rely on "your care alone. With regard to my conſti-"tution, you could receive no information from "them. I have had, I thank God, ſo good a "ſhare of health, that their advice has never "been required; and you ſhall, from myſelf, "receive every information that can be neceſ-"ſary. I have alſo to acquaint you, that it is "my determination to be inoculated before the "grand duke, and as ſoon as you judge it conve-"nient. At the ſame time I deſire that this "may remain a ſecret buſineſs; and I enjoin "you to let it be ſuppoſed that, for the preſent, "all thoughts of my own inoculation are laid "aſide. The preparation of this great experi-"ment on the grand duke will countenance "your viſits to the palace; and I deſire to ſee "you as often as it may ſeem neceſſary, that "you may become ſtill better acquainted with "what relates to my conſtitution, and alſo for

" adjuſting the time, and other circumſtances of
" my own inoculation."

He promiſed obedience to her majeſty's commands; and only propoſed that ſome experiments might firſt be made by inoculating ſome of her own ſex and age, and as near as could be of ſimilar habit. The empreſs replied, " that
" if the practice had been novel, or the leaſt
" doubt of the general ſucceſs had remained,
" that precaution might be neceſſary; but, as
" ſhe was well ſatisfied in both particulars, there
" would be no occaſion for delay on any
" account."

The empreſs, on being inoculated privately, went* the next morning to Tzarſko-ſelo, a palace about four and twenty verſts from Peterſburg. At firſt no other perſons were there but the neceſſary attendants, it being given out that her majeſty's journey was only to give directions about ſome alterations, and that her ſtay would be ſhort. But ſeveral of the nobility ſoon followed, and the empreſs obſerving among them ſome whom ſhe ſuſpected not to have had the ſmall-pox, ſaid to Dr. Dimſdale; " I muſt
" rely on you to give me notice when it is
" poſſible for me to communicate the diſeaſe:

* On the 12th of October.

" for,

"for, though I could wiſh to keep my inocula-"tion a ſecret, yet far be it from me to conceal "it a moment, when it may become hazardous "to others." The empreſs, during this interval, took part in every amuſement with her uſual affability, without ſhewing the leaſt token of uneaſineſs or concern; conſtantly dined at the ſame table with the nobility, and enlivened the whole court with thoſe peculiar graces of converſation, for which ſhe was ever diſtinguiſhed *.

The grand duke ſhortly after † ſubmitted to the operation; and, on his recovery, Catharine

* Shortly after being inoculated Catharine wrote to Voltaire:—"I have not kept my bed a ſingle inſtant, and I "have received company every day. I am about to have "my only ſon inoculated. The grand maſter of artillery, "count Orloff, that hero who reſembles the antient "Romans in the beſt times of the republic (1), both in "courage and in generoſity, doubting whether he had ever "had the ſmall-pox, has put himſelf under the hands of our "Engliſhman; and the next day after the operation, went "to the hunt, in a very deep fall of ſnow. A great num-"ber of courtiers have followed his example, and many "others are preparing to do ſo. Beſides this, inoculation "is now carried on at Peterſburg, in three ſeminaries of "education, and in an hoſpital eſtabliſhed under the in-"ſpection of M. Dimſdale."

† On the 1ſt of November.

(1) Romans!—the Orloff's!

rewarded

rewarded the ſervices of Dr. Dimſdale by creating him a baron of the ruſſian empire, and appointing him actual counſellor of ſtate, and phyſician to her imperial majeſty, with a penſion of 500l. a year, to be paid him in England; beſides 10,000l. ſterling which he immediately received; and alſo preſented him with a miniature picture of herſelf, and another of the grand duke, as a memorial of his ſervices. Her majeſty was likewiſe pleaſed to expreſs her approbation of the conduct of his ſon, by conferring on him the ſame title, and ordering him to be preſented with a ſuperb gold ſnuff-box, richly ſet with diamonds.

The examples of theſe illuſtrious perſonages had ſuch immediate influence, that moſt of the nobility both at St. Peterſburg and Moſco were impatient to have their families inoculated. This buſineſs being happily accompliſhed, baron Dimſdale was preparing to return to England, and indeed was juſt ſetting out, when a nobleman came to inform him that the empreſs was deſirous of ſeeing him. The baron was much concerned to find her with every ſymptom of a pleuretic fever, and therefore at her deſire again took up his reſidence in the palace. The ſymptoms increaſed; but, upon being bled, her majeſty received immediate relief, and in a ſhort time

time the most alarming ſymptoms abated. So ſoon as the empreſs was recovered, which was in about three weeks, the baron again prepared for his journey to England. Having taken his leave, and received farther proofs of the munificence of her imperial majeſty, the baron was attended to Riga by an officer commiſſioned to ſee that every neceſſary accommodation ſhould be provided, in the ſame manner as at his firſt arrival in the country *.

On the 3d of December 1768, a thankſgiving ſervice was performed in the chapel of the palace, on account of her majeſty's recovery and that of the grand duke, from the ſmall-pox. The ceremony was very ſolemn and magnificent. On each ſide of the imperial chapel, which is a lofty and ſpacious room in the winter palace, is a row of guilt ionic columns. The walls are covered with taudry and ill-executed pictures of ruſſian ſaints. On the roof, over the catapetaſma and holy doors, is a repreſentation of the ſupreme being, in the figure of an old man in white raiment. Within a railing extending acroſs the

* Before baron Dimſdale took his departure from St. Peterſburg, the empreſs purchaſed the houſe that had been built by baron Wolff, formerly britiſh conſul in that city, for the purpoſe of converting it into an inoculation hoſpital, which ſhe accordingly did, and the inſtitution is ſtill ſupported.

room,

room, and contiguous to the pillar neareſt to the holy doors, on the ſouth ſide ſtood the empreſs and her ſon, for, by the greek ritual, no perſon is allowed to ſit in church; accordingly there are no ſeats, not even for the ſovereign, who ſtands all the while under a canopy, when not making the uſual proſtrations. In the ſame area, and on both ſides of the ſanctuary, were choriſters gaudily apparelled. All the reſt of the congregation ſtood on the outſide of the baluſtrade.

The ceremony opened with ſolemn vocal muſic, no other being admiſſible in the greek church; to this ſucceeded the prayers and ejaculations, which conſtituted the firſt part of the office. Preſently the folding doors of the holieſt were opened from within, and diſplayed to view the penetralia of the temple. Directly oppoſite appeared a large picture of the deſcent from the croſs; on each ſide a gilt colonnade of the ionic order: in the middle an altar covered with golden tiſſue; and on the altar a crucifix, a three armed candleſtick with lighted tapers, emblem of the trinity, and chalices, flagons, patens, and other holy veſſels. A number of venerable prieſts with hoary heads and flowing beards, mitres ſtudded with precious ſtones of every colour, and coſtly robes of ſilk and damaſk,

ſtood

ſtood in ſolemn attitudes, among the columns of this gorgeous ſanctuary.

From the adytum, or inmoſt receſs, with ſlow and ſolemn ſteps, advanced a prieſt, bearing in his hand a two branched candleſtick with lighted tapers, emblematic of the hypoſtatic union of the two natures of the ſon of God. He was followed in like manner by another, reciting prayers as he moved along, and ſwinging a cenſer ſmoking with fragrant odours. Advancing towards her majeſty, he waved the cenſer thrice before her, during which ſhe ſeveral times gracefully bowed, and as often made the ſign of the croſs upon her breaſt. A third prieſt ſucceeded him bearing on his arms the volume of the goſpel; out of which having read ſome paſſages adapted to the occaſion, he preſented it to the empreſs, who kiſſed it with great devotion.

The prieſts then retired: the folding doors of the ſanctuary were cloſed: the choriſters ſung an anthem, and were anſwered by muſical voices from within. The intonations were deep and ſublime. In a few minutes the folding doors again flew open; the ceremonies of the tapers and incenſe were repeated. Two prieſts advanced, bearing the ſacred ſymbols, the bread and wine of the holy euchariſt, veiled with cloth

of

of gold. Having adminiſtered this *, they retired. The doors were cloſed, and the choral harmony reſumed.

The doors were opened, and the ſame ceremonies a third time repeated. After this the metropolitan aſcended the pulpit againſt a column oppoſite to the empreſs, and delivered a diſcourſe; in which he celebrated her reſolution and magnanimity; and in the courſe of his ſermon remarked, "that the Ruſſians had bor-"rowed aſſiſtance from Britain, that iſland "famed for wiſdom, bravery, and virtue." The ſermon ended, ſeveral prieſts came from the receſs, and concluded the ſervice with prayers and benedictions.

The ſenate decreed that the event of the recovery after inoculation of the ſovereign and his imperial highneſs ſhould be ſolemnized by an anniverſary feſtival, which has been regularly obſerved ever ſince.

* In the greek church the bread and wine are mixed up together, and adminiſtered with a ſpoon.

CHAP. VI.

The ottoman porte declares war against Russia.—Prince Henry of Prussia at Petersburg.—A russian squadron, under the command of count Alexius Orloff, sails to the Archipelago.—Victories of count Romantzoff.—Capture of Bender.—Count Alexius Orloff returns to Petersburg.—His conduct in Italy.—Prince Dolgorouky enters the Krimea.—Pestilence at Mosco.—Attempt to assassinate the king of Poland.—Congress at Fokshiani.—Vassilschikoff becomes favourite of the empress.—Gregory Orloff is dismissed from court; with other events from 1768 *to* 1772.

ON the first menaces held out by Turkey, Catharine, who felt herself not yet in a condition to make war with advantage, suspended the settlement of the limits between Russia and Poland, without, however, abandoning the hope of seizing on a part of that kingdom, where her officers were continually harassing and dividing the inhabitants. The flattering and sanguine expectations which had been formed on the conclusions of the late diet, and the intervention of the Russians in the affairs of the republic, were

were totally overthrown almoſt as ſoon as they were conceived; and that unfortunate country became the theatre of the moſt cruel and complicated of all wars; partly civil, partly religious, and partly foreign. Indeed the meaſures relative to the diet, as well as thoſe which had for ſome time paſt directed all the tranſactions in that country, ſeemed pregnant with ſuch ſeeds of diſcontent, as might well be expected to produce, ſooner or later, ſome very extraordinary conſequences. We have ſeen a foreign army, under colour of friendſhip, take poſſeſſion of a country to which no juſt claim was even pretended; we have ſeen them, for a courſe of years, peremptorily dictate to the members of a once great and free nation the meaſures they ſhould purſue, and the laws they ſhould eſtabliſh for their own internal government; and we have ſeen them ſeize the ſenators of that nation, and ſend them priſoners to a foreign country, for daring to have an opinion in their own national councils. It is not then to be wondered at, that the Poles, a brave and haughty nation, long nurſed in independence, and whoſe nobles had exerciſed in their reſpective diſtricts an almoſt unlimited ſovereignty, ſhould ill brook a ſubmiſſion to ſuch unnatural acts of foreign power.

The

The consequences were accordingly fatal. The resentment excited by patriotism from a sense of national injury and dishonour, being embittered and enflamed by the spirit of cruelty and animosity, which is almost always inseparable from religious disputes, that unhappy country exhibited, in the course of the year 1768, the scenes of horror, calamity, and desolation, which are the common concomitants of civil war. Citizen destroying citizen; foreigners drenching the vast plains of a great country in the best blood of its inhabitants, and the fields covered with the unburied bodies of those who used to till them, are but a part of the horrors of this dreadful picture. Some that were most impatient of the russian yoke at several times attacked their armies. Encouraged by Austria, and particularly by France, they made themselves masters of the city of Cracow, of a part of Podolia, and united in the fortress of Bar, the name whereof was then given to that confederation, which became so famous by its enormities and its misfortunes. The empress caused reinforcements of the troops to enter Poland, giving the command of them to lieutenant-general Soltikoff. The affrighted confederates made a second application to the Turks. The count de Vergennes, being informed of this step, renewed

renewed his remonſtrances to the divan, to determine it to ſuccour the Poles, and to oppoſe the ambitious deſigns of Catharine: in which he ſucceeded. The ambaſſador of that princeſs was ſhut up in the priſon of ſeven towers, and the reis effendi delivered to the foreign miniſters a manifeſto *, by which the grand ſignior declared war againſt Ruſſia, accuſing it of having infringed the treaties, and violated the territory, of the ottoman empire. The Turks, at the ſame time, announced that they were about to open the campaign with an army of 500,000 men.

The empreſs dreaded now neither the threats nor the undiſciplined multitudes of the ottoman forces. On the contrary, ſhe ſhewed great dignity and firmneſs. Upon the occaſion of the arreſt of her miniſter † at Conſtantinople, ſhe loudly juſtified his conduct, and applauded his ſpirit in not making any humiliating conceſſions, or ſubmitting to conditions that were derogatory to the honour and glory of the empire.

The conduct of the grand ſignior, in regard to the tranſactions in Poland, was blameleſs

* This manifeſto was incloſed in a purſe. See the appendix to this volume.

† The 12th of October 1768.

and

and irreproachable, and entirely conſiſtent with the character of a good neighbour and faithful ally. The affairs of that country had, for ſome years paſt, greatly attracted the attention of the Porte; nor could it indeed have been an indifferent ſpectator of the meaſures there lately purſued. The great and growing power of the ruſſian empire, and the ſupreme aſcendant it had acquired in all the tranſactions of the north, were in themſelves ſufficient objects of jealouſy to ſo near a neighbour. But the almoſt abſolute dominion which it had lately acquired, and the unlimited authority it exerciſed, in ſo conſiderable and extenſive a country, and poſſeſſed of ſuch great natural power, as Poland, was an object of ſuch moment, as the ſultan could not poſſibly have overlooked, without giving up every pretenſion to true policy, and even to common prudence.

In fact, while its kings were elected, its laws paſſed, and its ſtates governed under the influence of a ruſſian army, Poland could be conſidered in no other light than as a province to that empire; and the ſplendid titles of kingdom and republic were only a mockery and cruel inſult on its degradation. The Poles might have urged, and the Turks might have been convinced, that the pretences of fulfilling treaties,

protecting the diffidents, and guarding the freedom of election, was an ufeful fort of official language, which made a very good figure on paper, and had a plaufible effect in manifeftos, to the vulgar, or to thofe who were but little concerned. But thefe gloffes could bear no political teft of examination; as reafons of the fame or a fimilar nature might be everlaftingly found for the keeping of an army in any country, under pretence of friendfhip or protection, and at the fame time converting it to all the purpofes of a conquered province. In truth, the fame reafons would have held, for fending a ruffian army to Conftantinople, to protect the divan, to prevent riots among the janiffaries, and to reftore the chriftians in that empire to their ancient rights and privileges.

Catharine, however, had loft no time in preparing for her defence; and her preparations were formidable. Accordingly, fhe caufed a manifefto to be delivered to all the minifters of the powers neutral or allied, and publifhed a declaration of war, with the ufual forms, in the public places of Peterfburg.

1769. The ruffian armies began to march, and foon extended from the banks of the Danube to thofe of the river Kuban. The Tartars of the Krimea, who had embraced the party of the

the Turks, were the firſt againſt whom the armies of Catharine diſplayed their proweſs. General Izaakoff drove 12,000 of them out of New Servia, which they had entered under the command of their khan *. Maſters of Azoff and Taganrog, the Ruſſians put theſe two places into a condition of reſiſting their ancient poſſeſſors, and laboured, with unremitted induſtry, in augmenting the little ſquadrons, which have ſince given them the dominion of the Euxine.

The koſaks of the Ukraine penetrated into Moldavia. Prince Gallitzin, who commanded the principal body of the ruſſian army, paſſed the Dnieſter, and attacked 30,000 Turks even under the ramparts of Khotyim; but he was repulſed; and the conquerors purſued him to the other ſide of the river.

That general' then publiſhed a manifeſto, inviting all the Poles, who were not of the confederation of Bar, to take arms againſt that confederation. Soltikoff had already ſolemnly announced to his army, that ſuch officers or ſoldiers as ſhould take a confederate, and grant him his life, ſhould be ſeverely puniſhed.

Nine poliſh nobles ſoon after appeared in Warſaw with both hands cut off. For this

* In the month of March 1769.

 mutilation

mutilation they had to accuſe the ruſſian general Drevitch. The barbarian had acted in the double capacity of their judge and their executioner.

Catharine recalled from Warſaw prince Repnin, whoſe arrogance was diſguſting to all the Poles, without even excepting the warmeſt partizans of Ruſſia. That ambaſſador was ſucceeded by prince Volkonſky, who exerted himſelf in vain to effect the re-confederation already propoſed in the manifeſto of prince Gallitzin. The empreſs clearly ſaw how dangerous it would be for her, if all the Poles ſhould unite againſt the Ruſſians. But the efforts of her generals and the intrigues of her miniſters were now of leſs ſervice to her than the weakneſs and inattention of the court of Verſailles. If that court had been ſo inclined, the confederation of Bar would have been generalized, the Porte powerfully defended, and Poland ſtill have been in the number of the powers of Europe *.

Long

* In order to raiſe all Poland in one confederacy, the very eloquent and very able general Mokronoſky requeſted of the duke de Choiſeul no more than 2,000,000 tournois, as a ſubſidy, the acknowledgment of count Vilheorſky as miniſter of the confederation of Bar, and the miſſion of an agent to it, commiſſioned to ſee that the ſubſidies were well applied.

Long before the plan for the partition of Poland was put into execution, the empreſs and the king of Pruſſia equally felt the neceſſity o conferring on that grand deſign. But, thinking that an interview between them would not fai of giving umbrage to the other potentates, and that they might perhaps find means for diſcovering the motives of it, they thought it moſt adviſable to decline it altogether. Frederic, then giving his inſtructions to prince Henry, his brother, charged him with a commiſſion to go to Ruſſia. The better to conceal the object of his journey, prince Henry gave out, that he intended only to make a viſit to his ſiſter the queen of Sweden. While he was at Stockholm, he mentioned that he ſhould return to Pruſſia by the way of Denmark. But all at once he ſeemed to change his reſolution, and yield, from complaiſance to Catharine, who, hearing that he was ſo near her dominions, gave him preſſing invitations to come and ſee her at Peterſburg. Thus, though prince Henry had quitted Berlin in no other deſign than to proceed to Ruſſia, he

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applied. The duke de Choiſeul approved of the plan; but was diſſuaded from it by the court of Vienna, who had doubtleſs already formed ſecret views, as the partition of Poland afterwards made it appear.

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASW

found means to make it believed, that he was now going upon an unpremeditated journey.

Prince Henry embarked at Stockholm in a galley *, that conveyed him as far as Abo, the capital of Finland. From thence he repaired to Peterſburg. A chamberlain of the empreſs was diſpatched to meet him on the frontiers of Ruſſia. General Bibikoff received him at the laſt ſtation, before the entrance of Peterſburg, and conducted him to the palace that had been prepared for his reception, and where the miniſter Panin was waiting for him. The prince entered Peterſburg under a diſcharge of cannon, and every where received the ſame honours that are paid to ſovereigns.

1770. The next day he preſented himſelf at court with a numerous ſuite, and dined in public with the empreſs. All that paſſed this day was conducted with the moſt rigorous attention to ceremony; but afterwards all etiquette was baniſhed; and the empreſs and the prince might ſee and diſcourſe with each other without the ſmalleſt reſtraint.

* The prince royal of Sweden, who reigned afterwards under the name of Guſtavus III. and prince Frederic his brother, paſſed the firſt day in the galley with prince Henry. The duke of Sudermania was at that time in France.

Every

Every day was marked with ſome feſtivity or ſome new entertainment *. It would be ſuperfluous

* One of theſe is deſcribed in a letter from Mr. Richardſon, then at Peterſburg: "I ſaw him [prince Henry] a few nights ago at a maſquerade in the palace, ſaid to be the moſt magnificent thing of the kiud ever ſeen at the ruſſian court. Fourteen large rooms and galleries were opened for the accommodation of the maſks; and I was informed that there were preſent ſeveral thouſand people. A great part of the company wore dominos, or capuchin dreſſes; though, beſides theſe, ſome fanciful appearances afforded a good deal of amuſement. A very tall koſac appeared completely arrayed in the "hauberk's twiſted mail." He was indeed very grim and martial. Perſons in emblematical dreſſes, repreſenting Apollo and the Seaſons, addreſſed the empreſs in ſpeeches ſuited to their characters. The empreſs herſelf, at the time I ſaw her majeſty, wore a grecian habit; though I was afterwards told, that ſhe varied her dreſs two or three times during the maſquerade. Prince Henry of Pruſſia wore a white domino. Several perſons appeared in the dreſſes of Chineſe, Turks, Perſians, and Armenians. The moſt humorous and fantaſtical figure was a Frenchman, who, with wonderful nimbleneſs and dexterity, repreſented an overgrown, but very beautiful parrot. He chattered with a great deal of ſpirit; and his ſhoulders, covered with green feathers, performed admirably the part of wings. He drew the attention of the empreſs: a ring was formed; he was quite happy; fluttered his plumage; made fine ſpeeches in ruſs, french, and tolerable engliſh; the ladies were exceedingly diverted; every body laughed but prince Henry, who ſtood beſide the empreſs, and was ſo grave and ſo ſolemn,

fluous to enter into the particulars of any, except the feſtival that was given at Tzarſko-ſelo; the

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ſolemn, that he would have performed his part moſt admirably in the ſhape of an owl. The parrot obſerved him; was determined to have revenge; and, having ſaid as many good things as he could to her majeſty, he was hopping away: but juſt as he was going out of the circle, ſeeming to recollect himſelf, he ſtopped, looked over his ſhoulder at the formal prince, and quite in the parrot tone and french accent, he addreſſed him moſt emphatically with Henri! Henri! Henri! and then, diving into the crowd, diſappeared. His royal highneſs was diſconcerted; he was forced to ſmile in his own defence, and the company were not a little amuſed. —At midnight a ſpacious hall of a circular form, capable of containing a vaſt number of people, and illuminated in the moſt magnificent manner, was ſuddenly opened. Twelve tables were placed in alcoves around the ſides of the room, where the empreſs, prince Henry, and 150 of the chief nobility and foreign miniſters, ſat down to ſupper. The reſt of the company went up by ſtairs on the outſide of the room, into the lofty galleries all round the inſide. Such a row of maſked viſages, many of them with groteſque features, and buſhy beards, nodding from the ſide of the wall, appeared very ludicrous to thoſe below. The entertainment was enlivened by a concert of muſic; and at different intervals perſons in various habits entered the hall, and exhibited koſac, chineſe, poliſh, ſwediſh, and tartar dances. The whole was ſo gorgeous, and at the ſame time ſo fantaſtic, that I could not help thinking myſelf preſent at ſome

the magnificence of which is deserving to be remembered.

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some of the magnificent festivals described in the old-fashioned romances:

———the marshal'd feast
Served up in hall with sewers and seneshals.

The rest of the company, on returning to the rooms adjoining, found prepared for them also a sumptuous banquet. The masquerade began at six in the evening, and continued till five next morning.—Besides the masquerade and other festivities, in honour and for the diversion of prince Henry, we had lately a most magnificent show of fire-works. They were exhibited in a wide space before the winter palace; and in truth, "beggared description." They displayed, by a variety of emblematical figures, the reduction of Moldavia, Vallachia, Bessarabia, and the various conquests and victories atchieved since the commencement of the present war. The various colours, the bright green, and the snowy white, exhibited in these fire-works, were truly astonishing. For the space of twenty minutes, a tree adorned with the loveliest and most verdant foliage, seemed to be waving as with a gentle breeze. It was entirely of fire; and during the whole of this stupendous scene, an arch of fire, by the continued throwing of rockets and fire-balls in one direction, formed as it were a suitable canopy. On this occasion a prodigious multitude of people, was assembled; and the empress, it was surmised, seemed uneasy. She was afraid, it was apprehended, lest any accident, like what happened at Paris at the marriage of the dauphin, should befall her beloved people." Anecdotes of the russian empire, p. 327.

 Tzarsko-

Tzarſko-ſelo, or the ſeat of the tzars, the fixed ſummer-reſidence of Catharine II. lies in an open, pleaſant country, diverſified by gentle elevations and ſpots of foreſt, at the diſtance of 24 verſts from Peterſburg. The ſpace of the whole grounds belonging to the palace compriſes 420,000 ſquare fathoms. This princely ſeat owes its origin to Catharine I. and its extenſion and embelliſhment to the empreſs Elizabeth; but for its elegant completion and the greater part of its preſent magnificence, it is indebted to the creative reign of Catharine II.

The columns that mark the verſts on the road from town to Tzarſko-ſelo, are, like thoſe on the Peterhoff road, of marble, jaſper, and granite. On the two ſides of the way are 1100 globular lamps, which on public occaſions, when the court is at Tzarſko-ſelo, are lighted. Along the road the traveller is delighted with the view of private gardens and country-houſes, though neither in number nor elegance and diverſity to be compared with thoſe on the road to Peterhoff. Between the ſixth and ſeventh verſt-ſtones are ſeen the walls of the palace of Tſcheſme, riſing from a ſwampy plain overgrown with buſhes. This palace, which is in the form of a triangle, is built entirely in the gothic taſte, with old gothic ornaments, lofty windows,

windows, painted glaſs, little turrets. The inſide is remarkable for a very good collection of portraits of all the princes of Europe, that were reigning about the year 1775, and their families, the greater part whereof were preſents from the ſeveral princes themſelves. The grounds about it are laid out in the engliſh ſtyle.

Five or ſix verſts farther on is a village of german coloniſts; after which there is no other object of conſequence, till, at the extremity of a thick foreſt, Tzarſko-ſelo, the grandeſt of all the imperial palaces, appears. On the left hand is the wall of the park, and oppoſite two lofty portals, practiſed through a ſteep and rugged artificial rock, on the top of the higheſt whereof is a chineſe temple. On paſſing through this entrance, on the right hand is a canal and beyond it the palace, and on the left a chineſe village, through which the road lies over a chineſe bridge into the park. The road extends to the neighbouring town of Sophia, through a coloſſal gate of caſt iron. The palace itſelf forms an amphitheatre, with the building oppoſite to the principal front. On the eaſt ſide of the garden are two rows of large houſes for the people belonging to the palace, and for the entertainment of travellers.

The

The outſide of the palace is grand from its magnitude, and dazzling by its gilded ornaments. It conſiſts of three ſtories, and has a wing on either ſide, one of which is the chapel, and the other the imperial baths. The central part was inhabited by her majeſty. Here a marble ſtaircaſe leads up to the ſecond ſtory, in which are the ſtate apartments to the ſide of the court-yard, and the proper dwelling rooms look to the gardens. The generality of the former are fitted up and furniſhed in the richeſt and coſtlieſt manner in materials of every kind, and in ſuch elegant magnificence, that travellers, after viſiting other countries, unanimouſly declare, they know nothing of the kind with which it can be compared. A deſcription of theſe, with the gardens, will certainly not be expected here; as it would require a peculiar work of ſeveral volumes for that purpoſe. Only this cannot be overlooked, that Catharine, amidſt the creations of her capacious mind, had here devoted a little temple of ſimple architecture to ſolitary retirement and calm reflection, in which, ſurrounded by books and the beautiful ſcenery of nature, ſhe ſometimes forgot her immenſe ſphere of action, to indulge in the quiet enjoyments of meditation.

From

From the ſouth wing of the palace projects an arcade, fifty fathoms in length, over which is a covered colonnade of marble columns.—The gardens are laid out in the engliſh manner, and are unuſually ſpacious. Among the remarkable works in theſe gardens that are ſuſceptible of deſcription are principally the following objects: a ſmall temple, containing the choiceſt collection of antique and modern ſtatues; a ſolitude for a rural repaſt; together with a hermitage; a ſuperb bath, which may vie with any thing that antient Rome could produce; pictureſque ruins; a little town, with its ſtreets and ſquares, &c. in memory of the taking poſſeſſion of Tavrida, with many others. Two artificial lakes, connected by a rivulet, acroſs which is a marble bridge copied from that in Stowe-gardens. On an iſland in one of theſe lakes is a turkiſh moſque, on the other a ſpacious hall for muſical entertainments. In a wood appears a pyramid of granite in the ægyptian form, in the neighbourhood of which are two lofty columns.

Tzarſko-ſelo, the magnificent ſanctuary of nature and art, pretends alſo to be the grandeſt temple of merit. Formed of the radical mountains of our earth, monuments of great atchievements here tower aloft, fearleſs of the deſtructive revolutions of time. A marble obeliſk records the

the victory near Kagul, and the conqueror Romantzoff-Sadunaiſkoï. To the day of Tſcheſmè and the hero Orloff-Tſcheſmenſkoï a marble pillar on a pedeſtal of granite is dedicated. A ſuperb triumphal arch proclaims the patriotic courage of prince Orloff, with which he oppoſed himſelf to the inſurrection and the peſtilence that raged in the capital, and overcame them both. A roſtral column perpetuates the conqueſt of the Morea and the name Feodor Orloff. The reſt of the gardens are filled with objects that keep the admiration of the beholder on its utmoſt ſtretch.

It was at this grand ſeat of magnificence and taſte, that Catharine gave the famous entertainment to prince Henry of Pruſſia. At the coming on of the night, the empreſs, the grand duke, prince Henry, and ſeveral perſons of the court, to the number of 16, ſeated themſelves in an immenſe ſledge drawn by 16 horſes, covered and incloſed by double glaſſes, which reflected the numberleſs images of the objects both within and without. The ſledge, followed by upwards of 2000 others, ſet out from Peterſburg: every perſon of the whole company being maſked, and dreſſed either in a fancy-habit or a domino.

At

At the diſtance of two verſts from town, the train of ſledges paſſed under an immenſe triumphal arch, illuminated with lamps of various colours, and adorned with tranſparent emblems. At every ſucceeding verſt was ſome grand ſtructure, a pyramid of lamps, a magnificent temple, illuminated colonnades, or fire-works in full diſplay; and oppoſite to theſe at every verſt on the other ſide of the road was a houſe of public entertainment erected for the purpoſe, where ruſtics of both ſexes, ſhepherds and ſhepherdeſſes, were dancing and amuſing themſelves in various ways as at a country wake: every public-houſe of this ſort repreſenting ſome different nation, all the people being habited in the dreſs of the country the inhabitants of which they perſonated; the muſic and the dances likewiſe in ſtrict conformity with the habits. At other intervals, vaulting, tumbling, interludes, &c. were performing.

At about two verſts from the palace of Tzarſko-ſelo a high mountain roſe to view, ſeen through an avenue cut in the wood, repreſenting mount Veſuvius during an eruption, darting torrents of flames, and illuminating the atmoſphere to a great diſtance. This artificial eruption continued during all the time the ſledges paſſed in ſight of the mountain, till they entered the

 lofty

lofty portal through the rock into the chinese village, and through it to the palace.

The inside of the palace of Tzarsko-selo was lighted by an infinite number of wax-lights. In various apartments the company danced two hours. All at once a grand discharge of cannon was heard, on which the ball ceased, the candles were extinguished, and all the people ran to the windows, where they enjoyed the sight of magnificent fireworks the whole length of the palace. This having lasted for some time, a thundering discharge of artillery was heard again; when all the candles were alight once more as if by enchantment, and a splendid supper was already served up. After rising from table, the dances continued till a late hour in the morning.

Catharine, during the whole of her reign, gave frequent entertainments to the public, which though inferior to this, were yet conducted with a magnificence not to be exceeded in any court of Europe.

Prince Henry during his stay at Petersburg, passed all his evenings in company with the empress, in the favourite suite of apartments which that princess called her hermitage.

We ought not perhaps any longer to delay giving some account of this sumptuous edifice,

for ſo it ſhould be ſtyled rather than a ſuite of apartments, which, under the modeſt appellation of an hermitage, contains every thing that the moſt exquiſite luxury could combine. It occupies a ſpacious building contiguous to the imperial palace, with which it communicates by a covered paſſage over an arch. This ſtructure, which Catharine devoted to ſocial recreation and the pleaſures of familiar converſe, is perhaps the only one of its kind that has ever been built by queens and empreſſes for this purpoſe. It had every property that could render it delightful to the elect circle of her intimates. The treaſures of art and induſtry with which it abounds are not here to be deſcribed; but a ſhort account of ſome of the remarkable particulars of this palace it would be unpardonable to omit. Here is the private library of the empreſs; the picture-gallery, in which the famous Houghton-collection makes but a ſmall figure; Raphael's gallery, built exactly to the dimenſions of that of the Vatican, with excellent copies of all the paintings, corner-pieces, and other ornaments of exactly the ſame ſize and in the ſame ſituations; a cabinet of medals, and another of coins; a collection of copper-plate engravings; a collection of natural hiſtory, particularly mineralogy; a collection of curious pieces of art; a collection

 of

of models of mechanical inventions; a cabinet of antique and modern gems; not to mention the extraordinary works of art which compose the furniture of these apartments *. Here and there are placed the busts of great men. It is in one of these rooms that the elegant bust of Mr. Charles James Fox stands in the middle of a marble chimney-piece between two others. Some chambers are destined to musical entertainments, another to billiards, and others to various games. One of them opens into a pleasure-garden upon arches, with furnaces beneath them in winter to keep up a gentle heat; so that in the most rigorous seasons, here are gathered the peach and the ananas, the hyacinth and the rose. The whole of this garden is covered with a fine brass wire, that the beautiful and rare birds from all countries that fly among the trees and bushes, or hop about the grass-plots and gravel-walks, and which the empress used frequently to feed from her hand, may not escape. Here, in the midst of winter, Catharine, with those whom she admitted to her conversation, would walk on lawns and gravel, beneath the branches

* A great part of the paintings in the hermitage are from the famous cabinet of Crozat, which the empress caused to be bought at Paris.

of

of verdant trees, and amidſt fruits and flowers of every kind.

Above this is a terrace, where is a ſecond garden, in the aſiatic taſte; but this can only be enjoyed during the ſummer ſeaſon. A covered gallery leads from this enchanted palace into the court-theatre, at the performances of which, likewiſe, only a ſelect company ever appeared.

The other apartments of the hermitage are two large halls ornamented with great elegance, and a dining-room, in which dinner is ſerved by a mechanical apparatus, which renders the attendance of ſervants entirely unneceſſary, by preſenting the diſhes on ſmall tables which riſe through trap-doors. The company take their ſeats; and each of them, on wiſhing to change his plate, has only to ſtrike it in the centre, and it falls through the table, and through the floor, ſtarting up again and ſettling in its place, having upon it whatever was written on the ſcrap of paper that deſcended with it. At a certain ſignal all the plates and diſhes deſcend, and others with the ſecond courſe preſently appear.

Prince Henry expreſſed his deſire to ſee Moſco. The ſledges were immediately prepared; and he was tranſported thither with extra-

extraordinary rapidity. Three weeks afterwadrs he was already back in St. Peterſburg.

Among the various preſents which he received of the empreſs was obſerved the ſtar of the order of St. Andrew, full of very large brilliants, together with a ſingle diamond valued at 40,000 rubles. The portrait of Catharine was incloſed in this ring *.

However, neither feſtivities nor pleaſures prevented prince Henry from accompliſhing the ſecret object of his journey. In the private converſations which he had with the empreſs, the diſmemberment of Poland was reſolved on †. Catharine

* The empreſs, moreover, preſented him with a collection of medals in gold, and a variety of rich furs. She alſo made great preſents to all the perſons of his ſuite.

† A letter written at the time by Mr. profeſſor Richardſon, of Glaſgow, at that time in the family of the late lord Cathcart, ambaſſador at St. Peterſburg, as tutor to the preſent lord, diſcovers ſuch acuteneſs of perſpicacity, as, ſince the event, to have the air of prophecy, that it is impoſſible to reſiſt the making the following extract from it. It ſtands the xliſt in his collection, and bears date Jan. 4, 1771:—" This city, ſince the beginning of winter, has exhibited a continued ſcene of feſtivity and amuſements: feaſts, balls, concerts, plays, operas, fireworks, and maſquerades in conſtant ſucceſſion; and all in honour of, and to divert, his royal highneſs prince Henry of Pruſſia, the famous brother of the preſent king. Yet his royal highneſs does

Catharine and Frederic were equally deſirous of undertaking this diſmemberment; but they could

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does not ſeem much diverted. He looks at them as an old cat looks at the gambols of a young kitten; or as one who had higher ſport going on in his own mind, than the paſtime of fiddling and dancing. He came here about the beginning of November, on pretence of a friendly viſit to the empreſs, to have the happineſs of waiting on ſo *magnanimous* a princeſs; and to ſee with his own eyes the progreſs of thoſe immenſe improvements ſo highly celebrated by Voltaire, and thoſe french writers who receive gifts from her majeſty. As the queen of Sheba had heard of king Solomon's "acts and wiſdom," and "came to ſee whether "ſhe had heard a true report of them in her own land;" ſo alſo this royal prince hath come to viſit this mighty princeſs. It may be too that, like the queen of Sheba, he is come to prove her majeſty with "hard queſtions;" if ſo, he may depend upon getting anſwers to all his queſtions; and if he has any deſires which ſhe can grant, ſhe will "grant him "his heart's deſire." I could, with the greateſt eaſe, make out an exact parallel, in which the precious ſtones, the camels, and aſſes, brought by the ſheban potentate to Jeruſalem, would, I aſſure you, make no contemptible figure. But do you ſeriouſly imagine, that this creature of ſkin and bone ſhould travel through Sweden, whence he is come at preſent, and Finland and Poland, all for the pleaſure of ſeeing the metropolis and empreſs of Ruſſia? Other princes may purſue ſuch paſtime; but the princes of the houſe of Brandenburg fly at a nobler quarry. Or is the king of Pruſſia, as a tame ſpectator, to reap no advantage from the troubles of Poland and the turkiſh war? What is the meaning

could not do it without a third ally. If Maria Therefa had been ftill fole miftrefs of the empire,

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meaning of his late conferences with the emperor of Germany? Depend upon it, thefe planetary conjunctions are the forerunners of great events. Time, and perhaps a few months, may unfold the fecret. You will recollect the figns, when you fhall hear after this of changes, ufurpations, and revolutions. Prince Henry of Pruffia is one of the moft celebrated generals of the prefent age. So great are his military talents, that his brother, who is not apt to pay compliments, fays of him, that in commanding an army he was never known to commit a fault. This, however, is but a negative kind of praife. He referves to himfelf the glory of fuperior genius, which, though capable of brilliant achievements, is yet liable to unwary miftakes; and allows him no other than the praife of correctnefs. To judge of him by his appearance, I fhould form no high eftimate of his abilities. But the fcythian ambaffadors judged in the fame manner of Alexander the great. He is under the middle fize, very thin, he walks firmly enough, or rather ftruts, as if he wanted to walk firmly; and has little dignity in his air or gefture. He is dark-complexioned; and he wears his hair, which is remarkably thick, clubbed, and dreffed with a high toupée. His forehead is high; his eyes large, with a little fquint; and when he fmiles, his upper lip is drawn up a little in the middle. His look expreffes fagacity and obfervation; but nothing very amiable: and his manner is grave and ftiff, rather than affable. He was dreffed, when I firft faw him, in a light blue frock, with filver frogs; and wore a red waiftcoat and blue breeches. He is not very popular among the Ruffians; and accord-

empire, they would not perhaps have ſucceeded in making her a ſharer in ſo unjuſt a ſpoliation. Joſeph II. was not ſo difficult. Turkey, France, England, might alſo have maintained the treaties of which they were the guarantees; but theſe powers were ſo eaſily deceived, or ſo indifferent to the fate of other nations, that Catharine ſaid to prince Henry, "I will frighten Turkey; I "will flatter England; do you take upon you "to buy over Auſtria, that ſhe may amuſe "France."

Prince Henry knew ſo well the diſpoſitions of Joſeph II. and of his miniſter Kaunitz, that he acted as if he had been already in concert with them. He ſettled with Catharine the conditions to be obſerved in the diſmemberment of Poland, and fixed the extent of territory that each of the powers in this copartnerſhip ſhould appropriate

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accordingly their wits are diſpoſed to amuſe themſelves with his appearance, and particularly with his toupée. They ſay he reſembles Sampſon; that all his ſtrength lies in his hair; and that, conſcious of this, and recollecting the fate of the ſon of Manoah, he ſuffers not the nigh approaches of any deceitful Dalilah. They ſay he is like the comet, which, about fifteen months ago, appeared ſo formidable in the ruſſian hemiſphere; and which, exhibiting a ſmall watery body, but a moſt enormous train, diſmayed the northern and eaſtern potentates "with fear of change."

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to itſelf. However, the treaty between them was not ſigned till two years afterwards *.

The war continued to rage with fury on the frontiers of Turkey; and while it cheriſhed in the mind of Catharine the ambition of conqueſt, it ſerved alſo as a military ſchool to the Ruſſians. Prince Gallitzin, humiliated at his defeat, made a freſh attempt againſt Khotyim. It was not more ſucceſsful than the former. Sixty thouſand Turks marched to the defence of that place; they defended it bravely, and purſued the Ruſſians quite into Poland: but being vanquiſhed in their turn, they retreated to Moldavia.

At the beginning of this campaign the Turks fought with great courage and obſtinacy; but the ignorance of their generals, and the diſorder that reigned in their armies, often coſt them a defeat. After ten months of war, their army was almoſt entirely deſtroyed, and the fortreſs of Khotyim, which it had at firſt ſo valiantly defended, was abandoned without reſiſtance to 200 ruſſian grenadiers.

The empreſs, on hearing that when the Turks were purſuing prince Gallitzin, they had entered on the poliſh territory, pretended that

* It was ſigned at Peterſburg in the month of February 1772.

Poland

Poland ought not to ſuffer with impunity this infraction of the treaty of Carlovitz. Staniſlaus Auguſtus and the ſenate of Warſaw, always ſubmiſſive to the good pleaſure of Catharine, declared war againſt the Porte. This procedure, however, added nothing to the forces of the Ruſſians. What exertions could be made by a country without an army, without money, and a prey to all the horrors of anarchy?

But Catharine conceived a project more worthy of her genius. While her armies were haraſſing the Ottomans on the banks of the Pruth, the Danube, and the Dnieſter, and her fleets were triumphing on the Euxine, ſhe reſolved to attack them even in the iſles of Greece. Her miniſters were againſt this plan, excepting count Ivan Chernicheff and Gregory Orloff. Catharine, however, ſet about the proper meaſures for executing her darling ſcheme. The dock-yards of Archangel, of Cronſtadt, and Reval, now ſwarmed with workmen from all parts of the country; and the keels of as many ſhips as could be begun at one time were immediately laid; the main timbers of theſe ſhips were of oak, and the other parts of fir. She exerted herſelf to keep up the beſt underſtand-

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ing with the two maritime powers, England and Denmark. For the improvement of her ſea-officers, ſhe had before engaged Engliſhmen in her ſervice, the number of whom was now doubled. Others ſhe ſent to Malta, to make themſelves acquainted with the art of managing the gallies. In order to accuſtom the lower claſſes of the marine, from the captain to the cabin-boy, to ſeas as yet unknown to them, ſhe ordered a new-built frigate, the Nadejeda Blogopolutſhik (the Succeſsful Hope) to be got ready for ſea, and invited ſome merchants of Peterſburg to make ventures in it for a direct commerce with the ports of the Mediterranean. The empreſs undertook to provide the crew, and in all other reſpects to be an equal partner in the trade with the reſt. This being ſettled, the command was given to captain Pleſtſcheyef. This was the firſt ſhip which bore the ruſſian flag in the Mediterranean: it was out on the voyage two years, and in that time viſited almoſt all the ports of that ſea. Able and experienced officers, eſpecially from the britiſh navy, readily entered into the imperial ſervice; Elphinſton, Greig, Tate, Dugdale, and many others, not to mention ſir Charles Knowles, who acted more as ſuperintendant and director of the dock-yards than

than in a ſtrictly naval capacity *: even the pilots on board the fleet, beſides native Ruſſians, conſiſted of Engliſhmen, Danes, and Dutch. The empreſs concluded a particular treaty with Denmark, by which that kingdom was to keep in conſtant readineſs 800 ſeamen for the ſervice of Ruſſia. And laſtly, ſhe requeſted of the maritime powers a friendly reception and aſſiſtance to her ſhips of war. England and Tuſcany fully complied with this requeſt; Malta conſented that three ruſſian men of war, but no more at one time, ſhould enter the port of la Valetta; France, Spain, Venice, and Naples, would admit only merchant-ſhips from that country in their ports.

Accordingly, in September 1769, what no one would have believed, two ſquadrons of ruſſian men of war ſailed from Archangel and Reval, which were ſoon followed by others from the Baltic, and ſteered their hitherto unattempted courſe for the Mediterranean. The fleet now conſiſting of 20 ſail of the line, 6 frigates, ſeveral tranſports, a number of bomb-ketches, gallies

* To the zeal and abilities of admiral ſir Charles Knowles, Ruſſia is indebted for the preſent improved ſtate of the art of ſhip-building in that country. The admiral had much to reform in the admiralty; and what he effected was really ſurpriſing.

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and veſſels with troops for land-ſervice, left the Baltic, croſſed the north ſea, paſſed the ſtraits of Gibraltar, and, after having been diſperſed by a tempeſt, collected again, and diſplayed in the Archipelago its victorious flag. This fleet was commanded by admiral Spiridoff: but that admiral himſelf was under the orders of Alexèy Orloff, whoſe ſhare in the revolution had raiſed him all at once from a ſimple ſoldier to the rank of general, and whoſe audacity ſerved him inſtead of experience and talents.

All Europe was aſtoniſhed to ſee a nation, which till the preſent century was hardly known but by the map, now entering its harbours and braving its coaſts. What a change of fortune! Ruſſians landed on Paros, Melos, and other iſlands, and even on the continent of antient Greece. Ruſſians conquered Neſtor's Pylos *, and the famous Sparta †; laid ſiege to Corinth, and captured Lemnos and Mytelène ‡. Ruſſians were

* At preſent Navarino. † Now Miſtra.

‡ Captain Ployart, who commanded one of the ſhips in this expedition, and is now an admiral in the daniſh fleet, going on ſhore at Naxos, took with him a Homer, an old ſchool-book which he happened to have on board, and ſhewed it to ſome of the natives, who begged it of him with the moſt earneſt importunity. The captain complied with their

were fighting in Syria and Ægypt, where, from 1770 to 1773, they supported the enterprising Ali-bey.—But here indeed many errors were committed, whereby several of the advantages that had been gained were obliged to be abandoned. A great part of the fault lay with the unsteady Greeks, Mainots, and Montenegrins, who at first declared themselves very warmly against the Turks, but more inclined to robbery and depredation than regular fighting, shewed neither discipline, fidelity, nor courage.

A long time before the sailing of this fleet for the Archipelago, the empress had been preparing the way by settling a good understanding with the principal isles of Greece. Her emissaries flattered them with the hopes of exciting a general revolt in those countries. Marquis Maruzzi, banker at Corfou, and attached to the greek religion, came to St. Petersburg, where he was decorated with the order of St. Anne, and the title of minister from Russia to Venice. He promised in gratitude, to advance the sums that were necessary for the expedition of

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their desires; and on going again on shore the next day, he saw an elderly man with his back to a wall, reading the speeches of the first Iliad with all the fury of declamation, to an audience of 14 or 15 persons.

Alexey

Alexèy Orloff, and he actually furnished a capital of 35,000,000 of livres tournois *.

On the event of the war against the Turks depended the fate of Poland, and the consideration in which Russia should henceforth be held in Europe. Catharine was not ignorant of it. Accordingly she employed every effort of her power, and every exertion of her mind, in order to triumph in that war.

New squadrons were built, numerous recruits went and joined her camps. Not altogether satisfied with prince Gallitzin, the empress recalled him, and gave the command of her army to count Romantzoff, who was succeeded in the Ukraine by general Panin †. Prince Dolgorouky had a third army under his command.

* The empress procured, besides, several considerable loans at Leghorn, at Genoa, at Lucca, and at Amsterdam. The merchants of Holland had at first shewn reluctance at lending their money. Piqued with resentment that Mr. William Gomm, the banker of the court of Petersburg, had thought fit to dispense with their assistance, and to establish a course of exchange direct between Russia and England, they caused bills of exchange of his for 300,000 florins to be protested in one day, and occasioned him to stop. But they were offered an especial mortgage on the custom-houses of Petersburg and Riga; and allured by this bait, they lent them all that they desired.

† Brother of the minister.

Neither

Neither were the Turks backward in reinforcing their armies, and putting at their head generals whom they thought the moſt capable of leading them on to battle. The grand vizir took upon himſelf the general command. They received alſo powerful ſuccours from the Krimea. The famous Kerim-Gueray was lately dead, and his nephew had ſucceeded him. The new khan was weak and of a pacific diſpoſition. The Turks cauſed him to be depoſed; and in his room was elected Kaplan Gueray, a warlike prince, who preſently put himſelf at the head of a combined army of Turks and Tartars.

The Ruſſians opened the campaign by the ſiege of Bender, a place celebrated for the retreat and the long ſojourn of Charles XII. But, haraſſed by the Tartars, they were obliged for ſome time to relinquiſh the hope of capturing that town. More ſucceſsful on another ſide, they got poſſeſſion of Yaſſi and of Ibraïloff.

Theſe advantages were of but ſmall importance. Two ſignal battles decided the fate of the campaign, and ſecured the glory of Romantzoff. The firſt was fought on the borders of the Pruth. The Turks, to the number of 80,000 men, were commanded by the khan of the Krimea, who had dexterouſly intrenched himſelf on a hill, where it was not poſſible to

attack them. Romantzoff encamped on an opposite station, and for the space of a month was vainly endeavouring to bring them to a battle. At length they lost all patience. A movement of Romantzoff led them to imagine that he was on the point of retreating; and a body of 20,000 men having gone down to pursue him, they were repulsed with loss into their very camp, which they reached in terror and disorder.

Animated by this success, they lost no time in mounting the hill by escalade; and after a vigorous resistance, their enemies abandoned to them their intrenchments and a considerable part of their baggage and artillery.

After this they retired towards the Danube, where they expected to be reinforced by detachments from the grand ottoman army. Indeed the grand vizir, who commanded it, did pass the river, and came to the assistance of the vanquished.

Romantzoff, who, thinking he was in pursuit of an army in confusion, had advanced towards the mouth of the river Pruth*, found himself all at once in the face of 150,000 Turks. His situation was the more dangerous, as he had

* The Pruth flows into the Danube.

been

been forced to detach a corps of his army for the protection of a convoy he was hourly expecting. The khan, who was indulging in the hopes of revenge, ſpread his forces to the left of the ruſſian army, and ſurrounded it in ſuch a manner as to cut off all poſſibility of retreat.

Though the ruſſian troops were far inferior in numbers to thoſe of the Turks, theſe latter took the ſame precautions as if they had had to contend with an enemy who amounted to an equal number with themſelves. During the night, they ſurrounded their camp with a triple intrenchment. The following day the grand vizir gave the ſignal of battle; and the Ruſſians were attacked on all ſides at once. The firing was kept up for five hours, without any decided advantage to either party. But general Romantzoff, judging that the cannon and the muſquetry would complete the deſtruction of his army, gave orders to fall upon the enemy with bayonets fixed. The Turks gave way, and retreated within their intrenchments, where they defended themſelves a long time with great bravery; but numbers were at length obliged to yield to diſcipline and ſkill. The defeat of the Ottomans was complete *. They retreated

* In the month of July.

carrying off the vizir in their flight, and leaving almoſt a third of their army on the field of battle. The greater part of the baggage, and the ſtores of this army, 143 pieces of braſs cannon, and 7000 waggons loaded with proviſions, remained in poſſeſſion of the Ruſſians, and ſupplied them with the means of obtaining new victories.

Soon after this Romantzoff paſſed the Dnieſter. Prince Repnin made the conqueſt of Iſmaïloff. Panin laid ſiege to Bender; and that place, well fortified and defended by a numerous garriſon, but entertaining no longer any hope of being relieved, ſurrendered* after a reſiſtance of nearly three months; the capture of this fortreſs brought with it the ſubmiſſion of the Tartars of Budziak and Otchakoff to the ruſſian ſceptre.

General Igelſtrohm took the important town and fortreſs of Ackerman †, the capital of Beſſarabia, by aſſault; it is ſituated on the Euxine, at the mouth of the Dnieſter ‡.

The news of ſuch great and repeated ſucceſſes augmented the pride and the ſecurity of Catha-

* At the beginning of September.

† Towards the end of the ſame month.

‡ Ackerman ſignifies the white town.

rine,

rine. The disaffected, who surrounded her throne, dared no longer conspire against a princess who was triumphing at such a distance over her most formidable enemies. The provinces of Valachia and Moldavia, submitting to the russian arms, sent deputies to Petersburg, to do homage to the empress. She received them with magnificence, and loaded them with benefits.

At the same time several other foreign officers came to offer their services to Catharine, and obtained employment in her armies; among whom were general Lloyd *, major Thomas Carlton †, and other Englishmen of tried courage and conduct, together with some naval officers from England and Denmark, and captain Kinsbergen from Holland. These officers, distinguished by their talents and experience, were incorporated into the russian navy.

A little after her accession to the throne, Catharine had drawn from the conversations of marshal Munich the idea of getting possession of Constantinople, and of driving the Turks out of Europe. The old soldier had even offered to conduct the enterprise. But too many obstacles were at that time in the way of the execution of

* Author of "Reveries," a work on "the possibility of "invading England," &c.

† Now governor of New Brunswick in America.

ſo great an attempt. The propitious moment ſeemed now at laſt arrived. However, unable to hope to keep under her dominion all the grecian iſles, the empreſs determined at leaſt to raviſh them from the ottoman power; and the moſt deſpotic of ſovereigns reſolved to be the patron of liberty in theſe fine countries, and to be the founder of a republic there *.

We have already obſerved, that ſecret agents had diſpoſed the Greeks to riſe up in arms. That people, anciently ſo proud and now ſo debaſed, expected the Ruſſians as their deliverers; and the inſtant their ſquadron had got the height of cape Matapan†, the whole Archipelago thought itſelf free. The Mainots, deſcendants of the ancient Lacedemonians, were the firſt that took arms. Their neighbours ſoon followed their example; and the Turks were maſſacred in ſeveral of the iſlands. But the latter cruelly revenged themſelves for the inſurrection of the Greeks. Some thouſands of theſe miſerable people were exterminated by the ſabre of the janiſſaries.

The ſquadron of admiral Spiridoff was ſoon joined by that of Elphinſton, a native of England, vice-admiral in the ſervice of Ruſſia, and far

* Afterwards ſhe determined Joſeph II. to ſecond this project, which nevertheleſs was not put in execution.

† Formerly the promontory of Tenaros.

more

more capable of commanding than the officer under whose orders he served.

To this double squadron was opposed that of the capudan-pasha*, a man of extraordinary intrepidity, and who, on several occasions, only wanted, for gaining the victory, to have been better seconded.

He first forced the Russians to retire from Lemnos. Afterwards the two fleets met† in the channel that separates the isle of Scio from Natolia. The turkish ships were superior in number, and were in a manner intrenched behind some small islands and rocks on a level with the surface of the water. The Russians, however, were not afraid to attack them. The capudan-pasha, whose flag was flying on board the Sultan, of 90 guns, led the van, and offered battle to admiral Spiridoff. The ships came alongside of each other. The efforts of courage were terrible on both sides. Showers of balls and grenades interchangeably crossed, with rapidity, on the decks of the two admirals. The ship of the capudan-pasha caught fire; that of the russian commander could not disengage itself from it. They blew up together; and the sea was covered with their smoking fragments.

* The famous Hassan. † The 5th of July.

The admirals and ſome other officers were the only perſons that eſcaped the diſaſter.

While the ſhips were burning, the other veſſels, ſtruck with terror, abandoned the fight; but ſoon after renewed the attack with redoubled fury. Night coming on, they were obliged to ſeparate. The Turks had now the imprudence to enter the narrow and ſlimy bay of Tſcheſmè, where ſome of their veſſels ran aground, and the others were ſo preſſed for room, that they found it impoſſible for them to act. The Ruſſians, who had obſerved their miſtake, made every preparation for turning it to their advantage.

The day following *, vice-admiral Elphinſton took his ſtation at the entrance of the bay, to prevent the Turks from coming out. The next ſtep he took was to order four fire-ſhips to be got ready, commanded by the engliſh lieutenant Dugdale, and protected by the veſſels of another Engliſhman, vice-admiral Greig. Towards midnight Greig began the attack with four ſhips of the line and two frigates. Preſently after, Dugdale came up with his fire-ſhips; and braving the vigorous fire of the enemy, and encouraging by his example the Ruſſians who ſeconded

* The 6th of July.

him,

him, he himſelf faſtened the grapplings of a fire-ſhip to one of the turkiſh veſſels; and, with his hands, his face, and his hair, all burnt, he threw himſelf into the ſea, and ſwam to the ruſſian ſquadron. The turkiſh ſhips were ſo cloſe together, that they all became a prey to the flames *. The ſun at its riſing ſaw no more of their flag.

So far from endeavouring to ſtop the progreſs of the combuſtion, the turkiſh crews thought of nothing but their own ſafety. Several ſailors got off in boats, others threw themſelves into the ſea and took to ſwimming, and all of them who gained the ſhore diſperſed themſelves about the countries, and were guilty of ſuch depredations and exceſſes towards the wretched inhabitants, that even the Ruſſians themſelves could not perhaps have ſurpaſſed them. It was found neceſſary to ſend a party of troops to put an end to their ravages.

After the entire deſtruction of the turkiſh ſquadron, the Ruſſians went to anchor at Paros; whence they might eaſily command all the grecian

* It is certain that this famous conflagration was the work of three Engliſhmen, Elphinſton, Greig, and Dugdale. The empreſs, nevertheleſs, thought fit to aſcribe the idea of it to Alexius Orloff. She wrote ſo to Voltaire; ſhe repeated it again in 1788 to the ambaſſador of France.

ſeas,

ſeas, and where not a ſingle veſſel was ſuffered to appear without lowering its top-ſails.

The Turks were the more uneaſy by the vicinity of ſuch an enemy, as a rebellion had broke out in ſeveral parts of their empire. The paſhas of Caramania, almoſt always at variance with the Porte, took advantage of its diſaſters for withdrawing themſelves entirely from its authority. That part of Syria which is below Sidon and Tripoli followed their example, and the old ſheik Daher excited all the country which reaches from Acre to the plains of Eſdraelon and to the frontiers of Ægypt.

But of all thoſe who ſignalized themſelves by their rebellion againſt the grand ſignior, he who undoubtedly ſhewed himſelf the moſt formidable, and who was moſt in capacity to be of ſervice to Ruſſia, was Ali-bey. Raiſed from the rank of a ſimple mammeluk to that of bey, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his courage, and had experienced, though ſtill very young, the favours and the reverſes of fortune. The rivals of his power ſucceeded ſo far as to remove him from Cairo; but he ſoon returned thither again and baniſhed them in his turn. He knew that the Porte had been hoſtile to him, and, animated with an implacable reſentment, he deſired nothing better than to be able to contribute to the ruin

of

of the ottoman empire. The arrival of the ruſſian ſquadrons ſeemed to offer him a favourable opportunity for ſatisfying his vengeance.

Perhaps there never was an enterpriſe in a diſtant country more ſucceſsfully carried on than that of the Ruſſians on the coaſts of Aſia Minor. But perhaps alſo never were generals more ignorant, more incapable of appreciating the character of foreign nations, more jealous of a vain oſtentation, and more addicted to debauchery than Alexèy Orloff and his principal officers. If they had had the ſkill to profit by their victories and the ſuperiority of their forces, Syria and Ægypt would for ever have been loſt to the ottoman empire.

Ali-bey uſed every effort to induce them to ſupport the rebellion, and to ſend him troops to aſſiſt him in driving the Turks out of Ægypt. But inſtead of ſeconding his exertions, Alexius Orloff amuſed himſelf with inſiſting on his acknowledging the empreſs for his ſovereign.

A young venetian merchant, named Carlo Roſetti, had poſſeſſed himſelf of the confidence of the bey, and was the firſt whom he employed to treat with the Ruſſians. No one was more diſpoſed, nor more fit to bring ſuch a negotiation to a happy iſſue. Orloff had not the ſenſe to take advantage of ſuch an opportunity.

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portunity. Negligent of the advices which this artful Italian might have given him, and disgusting him by his arrogance, he took Greeks and Jews into his pay who cheated and deceived him. He was mistrustful of Ali-bey, and forced him, by his artifices, to be mistrustful of him.

It was only a short time before he quitted the Archipelago, that Alexius Orloff sent Plestscheyef * into Ægypt. Plestscheyef was favourably received by the bey. He flattered himself with being able to draw from his mission great advantage to the Russians: but it was too late. Peace intervened to interrupt his negotiations.

A courier dispatched directly to the empress, brought her the news of the burning of the turkish fleet; so that she was the first person in Petersburg informed of the event. Count Ivan Chernischeff, whom the empress had long since recalled from London and put at the head of the marine department, was then deeply engaged in a quarrel with the college of admiralty, and that quarrel had occasioned some delay

* Plestscheyef obtained in the sequel the rank of vice-admiral. He drew up an account of his expedition in Ægypt; but in it he mentions not a word of the money that he gave to the Copht Risk, to procure for him the favour of Ali-bey.—See the whole of this narrative in the "Varieties of Literature," vol. i. p. 477.

in

in the expedition of an affair of little conſequence. Catharine complained of this delay, and thought no more of it. She was well acquainted with the obſtinacy and the extreme incapacity of Cherniſcheff; but ſhe continued him in his place, becauſe ſhe had laid it down as a ſettled principle, to change as ſeldom as poſſible her miniſters and her ambaſſadors. When ſhe ſent for Ivan Cherniſcheff to communicate to him the news of the affair of Tſcheſmè, the miniſter, imagining that ſhe meant to ſpeak again to him of his quarrel, began, as he entered the apartment:—“ I aſſure you, madam, that it was not “ my fault.”—“ Oh! I know that very well,” returned the empreſs, “ but it is not the leſs certain.” —“ Alas! yes, madam, and I am very ſorry “ for it.”—“ What! you are ſorry that the “ Turks have no longer any fleet?” ſaid the empreſs, ſmiling; and ſhe then communicated to him the contents of the diſpatches which ſhe had juſt received.

The joy was extreme at the court of Peterſburg. Magnificent feſtivities were given to celebrate the victory of Tſcheſmè, and the empreſs afterwards cauſed a palace to be built *, and the foundations of a town to be laid, for

* See before, p. 172.

confecrating

consecrating to posterity the remembrance of so glorious an event.

1771. Count Alexius Orloff returned in all haste to Petersburg *, to repose upon his laurels, to enjoy his triumphs, and to solicit new means for extending his conquests in the Archipelago. On his appearance the festivities were renewed, and he was decorated by his sovereign with the grand riband of St. George.

He laid before the council a plan by which he proposed to render himself master of all Greece, and to rescue Ægypt from the ottoman empire. He concluded by saying that he would pass the dangerous passage of the Dardanelles, and that for all these important purposes he requested no more than 10,000,000 of rubles.— "I grant you twenty," immediately replied Catharine; "for I am resolved that you shall want "for nothing." At the same time orders were issued for the equipment of a new squadron, to reinforce that which was already in the Archipelago.

During the state of extreme loss and misfortune to which the Turks were reduced by the war, that empire seemed convulsed in all its parts; order, submission, and respect to govern-

* He arrived there the 15th of March 1771.

ment ſeemed totally at an end; maſſacre and confuſion took place; and, to fill up the meaſure of calamity, the plague now made the moſt cruel ravages: above a thouſand perſons dying daily in Conſtantinople for ſeveral weeks. The deſtruction of their fleet was better known in that metropolis, and was in itſelf more immediately alarming, than any other misfortune that could have happened: and, as if the dangers from without were not ſufficiently terrible, the run-away ſailors filled it with ſlaughter and confuſion, and actually ſet fire to the city and ſuburbs at ſeveral times. At length theſe miſcreants were ſo ſtrengthened, by the acceſſion of vagabonds and villains of all ſorts, particularly by the crowds of deſerters from the Danube, who had nothing to ſubſiſt on but plunder, that they came to an open engagement with the janiſſaries in the ſuburbs of Pera, where ſome thouſands of them were cut to pieces, and the reſt diſperſed.

In the mean time, every immediate meaſure was taken for the ſecurity of the Dardanelles, and all the remaining ſhips and gallies were fitted out with the greateſt expedition to aſſiſt in defending the paſſage. The late vizir, Moldavangi Ali-paſha, was recalled from his exile, and ſent at the head of 15,000 men for the ſame

 purpoſe;

purpose; where the first enemies he had to encounter were the rebellious sailors, who landed in a body in spite of the capudan-pasha, and, making zeal for their religion a cloak for their avarice and licentiousness, intended to have plundered and burnt the city of Gallipoli, and to have massacred the Greeks. They were however happily disappointed in this cruel design, by the vigour and resolution of the late vizir, who severely chastised their profligacy; and, after killing a great number of them, reduced the remainder to order. Baron Tot, a french nobleman who had been consul in Tartary, and was an engineer of the first abilities, together with several others of his countrymen, were also procured, to erect new batteries on the straights, and to put the castles into a proper state of defence. By these means, together with the uncertainty of the winds and currents necessary to facilitate such an enterprise, all the attempts of the Russians, to force their passage, had hitherto proved fruitless.

Nor was the revolution in Ægypt, nor the interception of the trade from the lesser Asia and Syria by the Russians, attended with the fatal consequences to the metropolis that were expected; as amidst all its calamities it was constantly and plentifully supplied with provisions:

a felicity

a felicity for which it is principally indebted to the long extent of ſea-coaſt from the mouth of the Helleſpont to the Euxine. In the mean time the winter ſeaſon having obliged the Ruſſians to quit their ſtation near the Dardanelles, the trade through the ſtraights was of courſe again opened.

While the Porte was thus fatally experiencing all the viciſſitudes and havoc of war, the calamities of peſtilence, and the precipitate deſtructive evils of anarchy, in their european dominions; the ſame ruinous ſyſtem of policy, and weakneſs and relaxation of government, extended their effects into other parts of that great empire, and produced a new and extraordinary revolution in Ægypt. Ali-bey, who had ſo long made a diſtinguiſhed figure among the factions that for ſome years paſt had torn that country to pieces, at length threw off the maſk; and, taking advantage of the preſent ſtate of diſtreſs and danger, boldly mounted the throne of the antient ſultans of that kingdom.

The Ottomans had from the beginning made but a lax uſe of their authority in the government of Ægypt. The diſtance and climate made it difficult to ſupport there any conſiderable number of troops; while, from its peculiar ſituation, and the number of barbarous nations on its

its borders, who would naturally join the natives, or at leaſt afford them ſhelter and protection if overcome, nothing leſs than an army could enforce a very ſtrict obedience. Satisfied with the very great benefits that reſulted from its being a granary to Conſtantinople and other parts of their dominions, as it had formerly been to antient Rome, the Turks were content with a very moderate tribute, not above one third of which came into the treaſury. A garriſon of janiſſaries was kept at Cairo, where a paſha, with the title of governor, but with little more power than what the great men of the country choſe to allow him, conſtantly reſided. The princes and grandees of the country had abſolute power in their reſpective territories, and held a general aſſembly or council, every year at Cairo, where they ſettled the payment of the revenues, and debated upon ſuch other national matters as demanded conſideration. To prevent any reſtraint from the governor, or their being overawed by the janiſſaries, as well as from the continual quarrels among themſelves, they all came attended by their armed vaſſals. Such aſſemblies, among ſo barbarous a people, naturally diſpoſed to faction and treachery, preſented continual ſcenes of bloodſhed and confuſion; while the governors, by occaſionally ſupporting

one

one party againſt the other, endeavoured to derive that power and conſequence from their diſſenſions which the authority of office was incapable of procuring.

Ali-bey, a man of ſtrong natural parts and conſiderable abilities, improved upon the line of policy ſtruck out by the governors; and, by dextrouſly ſhifting for a number of years, from one ſide to the other, and deſtroying by degrees ſuch parties as were obnoxious to him, he at length formed one great one which ſwallowed up all the others. Not content with the kingdom of Ægypt, he laid claim to Syria, Paleſtine, and the part of Arabia that had belonged to the antient ſultans. The uſurper accordingly marched at the head of an army to ſupport thoſe pretenſions, and actually ſubdued ſome of the neighbouring provinces both of Arabia and Syria.

At the ſame time that he was engaged in thoſe ambitious purſuits, he was not leſs attentive to the eſtabliſhing of a regular form of government, and of introducing order into a country that has been ſo long the ſeat of anarchy and confuſion. His views were equally extended to commerce; for which purpoſe he gave great encouragement to the chriſtian traders, and took off ſome ſhameful reſtraints and indignities,

to which they were ſubject in that barbarous country: he alſo wrote a letter to the republic of Venice, with the warmeſt aſſurances of his friendſhip, and that their merchants ſhould meet with every degree of protection and ſafety. His great deſign was to make himſelf maſter of the Red Sea; to open the port of Suez to all nations, but particularly to the Europeans, and to make Ægypt once more the great centre of commerce.

Proud of the favour of the empreſs, of victories of which he took the honour to himſelf, and of thoſe he ſtill intended to gain, count Alexèy Orloff departed from St. Peterſburg, in order to return to the Archipelago. Having ſtopped ſome time at Vienna, he there diſplayed an extravagant luxury, and gave himſelf up to indiſcretions very little worthy of the miniſter of a princeſs ſo diſcreet as Catharine. One evening being at ſupper with the ambaſſador of Ruſſia with a numerous company, he ſpoke of the revolution that had coſt the throne to Peter III. No one dared to put the leaſt queſtion concerning the death of the unfortunate tzar. Alexèy Orloff related it of his own accord; and, perceiving that all who heard him ſhuddered with horror, he thought he cleared himſelf of the crime which he had committed, by ſaying, "That it was a lamentable thing

"for

" for a man of ſo much humanity as he poſſeſſed, " to be forced to do what he had been com- " manded." But this repentance could not be thought ſincere. The character of Alexèy Orloff was too well known; and the whole of his conduct proved that his conſcience was not apt eaſily to take the alarm.

On leaving Vienna, Alexèy Orloff went to rejoin the ruſſian ſquadron which lay expecting him at Leghorn; and, though in a ſhattered condition, continued to complete the ruin of the marine and the commerce of the Turks.

The empreſs had commiſſioned Alexèy Orloff to cauſe to be painted in Italy four pictures, repreſenting the engagements of her ſquadron and the burning of the turkiſh fleet. Orloff made application to a painter named Hackert. This artiſt having told him that he had never ſeen a ſhip blow up, the Ruſſian made no heſitation of affording him an opportunity of contemplating ſuch an object, and hazarded the firing of all the veſſels in the road of Leghorn for furniſhing the painter with the means of exhibiting with greater truth the diſaſter of the capudan-paſha and admiral Spiridoff *.

* The four pictures by Hackert are at preſent hanging in the hall of audience at Peterhoff.

Acts of extravagance are not always crimes. But there is no crime which such an extravagant character is not capable of committing. On his departure from Petersburg he had received orders to send thither a young unfortunate lady who had been rescued from tyranny. This barbarous order was now to be accomplished.

It has already been mentioned that the empress Elizabeth had three children by her clandestine marriage with the grand-veneur Alexèy Gregorievitch Razumoffsky. The youngest of these children was a girl, brought up under the name of princess Tarrakanoff. Prince Radzivil, informed of this secret, and irritated at Catharine's trampling under foot the rights of the Poles, conceived that the daughter of Elizabeth would furnish him with a signal means of revenge. He thought that it would not be in vain if he opposed to the sovereign, whose armies were spreading desolation over his unhappy country, a rival whose mother's name should render dear to the Russians. Perhaps his ambition might suggest to him yet more lofty hopes. Perhaps he might flatter himself with being one day enabled to mount the throne on which he intended to place the young Tarrakanoff. However this be, he gained over the persons to whom the education of this princess was committed,

mitted, carried her off, and conveyed her to Rome *.

Catharine, having intelligence of this tranſaction, took immediate ſteps to fruſtrate the deſigns of prince Radzivil. Taking advantage of the circumſtance of his being the chief of the confederacy of the malcontents, ſhe cauſed all his eſtates to be ſeized, and reduced him to the neceſſity of living on the produce of the diamonds and the other valuable effects he had carried with him to Italy. Theſe ſupplies were ſoon exhauſted. Radzivil ſet out in order to pick up what intelligence he could concerning affairs in Poland, leaving the young Tarrakanoff at Rome, under the care of a ſingle gouvernante, and in circumſtances extremely confined. Scarcely had he reached his own country, when an offer was made to reſtore him his poſſeſſions, on condition that he would take his young ward to Ruſſia. He refuſed to ſubmit to ſo diſgraceful a propoſal; but he had the weakneſs to promiſe that he would give himſelf no farther concern about the daughter of Elizabeth. This was the price of his pardon.

* In 1767 mademoiſelle de Tarrakanoff was about 12 years of age.

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S

Alexèy Orloff, charged with the execution of the will of the empreſs, ſeized the firſt moment on his arrival at Leghorn, of laying a ſnare for the princeſs Tarrakanoff. One * of thoſe intriguers who are ſo common in Italy, repaired immediately to Rome; and, after having diſcovered the lodgings of the young Ruſſian, he introduced himſelf to her in a military dreſs and under the name of an officer. He told her that he had been brought thither by the ſole deſire of paying homage to a princeſs whoſe fate and fortunes were highly intereſting to all her countrymen. He ſeemed very much affected at the ſtate of deſtitution in which he found her. He offered her ſome aſſiſtance which neceſſity forced her to accept; and the traitor ſoon appeared to this unfortunate lady, as well as to the woman that waited on her, in the light of a ſaviour whom heaven had ſent to her deliverance.

When he thought he had ſufficiently gained their confidence, he declared that he was com-

* It was a Neapolitan, named Ribas. He afterwards came to Ruſſia, where he married mademoiſelle Anaſtaſia, reputed daughter of M. de Betſkoï, and has ſince been made knight of Malta, and promoted to the rank of vice-admiral of the Black Sea.

miſſioned

missioned by count Alexius Orloff to offer to the daughter of Elizabeth the throne that had been filled by her mother. He said that the Russians were discontented with Catharine; that Orloff especially could never forgive her for her ingratitude and her tyranny; and that, if the young princess would accept of the services of that general, and recompense him by the grant of her hand, it would not be long ere she saw the breaking out of that revolution which he had prepared.

Proposals so brilliant ought naturally to have opened the eyes of the princess Tarrakanoff, and shewn her the treachery of him that made them. But her inexperience and her candour permitted her not to suspect any guile. Besides, the language of the emissary of Alexius Orloff seemed analogous with the notions she had imbibed from prince Radzivil. She imagined herself destined to the throne; and all the airy dreams that any way related to that opinion could not but encourage the deceit. She accordingly gave herself up to these flattering hopes, and with a grateful heart concurred in the designs of him who addressed her only to her destruction.

Some time after this Alexius Orloff came to Rome. His emissary had already announced him. He was received as a benefactor. However,

ever, ſome perſons to whom the princeſs and her gouvernante communicated the good fortune that was promiſed them, adviſed them to be on their guard againſt the deſigns of a man whoſe character for wickedneſs had been long eſtabliſhed, and who doubtleſs had too much reaſon to remain faithful to the empreſs to think of conſpiring againſt her. Far from profiting by this good counſel, the princeſs was ſo imprudently frank as to ſpeak of it to Alexius Orloff, who with great eaſe delivered his juſtification, and thenceforth threw a deeper ſhade of diſſimulation and addreſs into his ſpeeches and behaviour. Not ſatisfied with fanning the ambition of the young Ruſſian, he put on the ſemblance of a paſſion for her, and ſucceeded ſo far as to inſpire her with a true one. So ſoon as he was aſſured of it, he conjured her to enter into a union with him by the moſt ſacred ties. She unhappily conſented; and it was even with joy that the poor unfortunate lady promiſed to ſolemnize a marriage which muſt conſummate her ruin. She thought that the title of ſpouſe of count Alexius Orloff would ſhelter her invincibly from thoſe treacheries which ſhe was taught to apprehend. She entertained not the leaſt ſuſpicion that a man could make religion and the moſt ſacred titles ſubſervient to the deſtruction

 of

of an innocent victim. But, alas, was any religion, was any title facred to the barbarian into whofe fnares fhe had fallen? He who could ftrangle the unfortunate Peter III. could he dread to difhonour the daughter of Elizabeth *?

Feigning a defire that the marriage ceremony fhould be performed according to the ritual of the greek church, he fuborned fubaltern villains to difguife themfelves as priefts and lawyers. Thus profanation was combined with impofture againft the unprotected and too confident Tarrakanoff.

When Alexius Orloff was become the hufband or rather the ravifher of this unhappy princefs, he reprefented to her that their ftay at Rome expofed her to too clofe obfervation, and that it would be advifable for her to go to fome other city of Italy, to wait for the breaking out of the confpiracy that was to call her to the throne. Believing this advice to be dictated by love and prudence, fhe anfwered that fhe would follow him wherever he chofe to conduct her. He brought her immediately to Pifa, where he had previoufly hired a magnificent palace. There he continued to treat her with marks of tender-

* The fate of the young Tarrakanoff may be compared to that of the daughter of Sejanus: "...... a carnifice "laqueum juxtà, compreffam......" Tacit. Ann. lib. v.

nefs

neſs and reſpect. But he permitted none to come near her except perſons who were entirely at his devotion; and when ſhe went to the play or to the public promenades, he accompanied her always himſelf.

The diviſion of the ruſſian ſquadron under the command of admiral Greig, had juſt entered the port of Leghorn. On relating this news to the princeſs, Alexius Orloff told her that his preſence was neceſſary at Leghorn for the purpoſe of giving ſome orders, and offered to take her with him. To this ſhe the more readily conſented, as ſhe had heard much talk of the beauty of the port of Leghorn and the magnificence of the ruſſian ſhips. Imprudent lady! the nearer ſhe approached the cataſtrophe of the plot, the more ſhe truſted to the tenderneſs and the ſincerity of her faithleſs betrayer.

She departed from Piſa with her cuſtomary attendance. On arriving at Leghorn, ſhe landed at the houſe of the engliſh conſul, who had prepared for her a ſuitable apartment, and who received her with the marks of the profoundeſt reſpect. Several ladies* were early

* It is a miſtake that the lady of admiral Greig was among them. Mrs. Greig did not accompany her huſband on the voyage, but remained the whole time of his abſence at St. Peterſburg.

in

in making their viſits, and ſedulouſly attended her on all occaſions. She ſaw herſelf preſently ſurrounded by a numerous court, eager to be beforehand with all her deſires, and ſeeming to make it their only ſtudy inceſſantly to procure her ſome new entertainment. Whenever ſhe went out, the people ran in her way. At the theatre all eyes were directed to her box. All circumſtances conſpired to lull her into a fatal ſecurity. All tended to diſpel the idea of any danger at hand.

It is doubtleſs impoſſible to believe that an engliſh conſul, an engliſh admiral, and ladies of their family or acquaintance, could be ſo baſe, ſo inhuman, as to draw into the ſnare, by deceitful reſpect and careſſes, a victim whoſe youth, whoſe beauty, whoſe innocence, was capable of affecting the moſt inſenſible heart. It is not to be imagined that they were in any degree privy to the plot contrived againſt her, and that they ſtudiouſly inſpired her with confidence, only the more infallibly to betray her.

The young Tarrakanoff was ſo far from ſuſpecting her unfortunate ſituation, that, after having paſſed ſeveral days in a round of amuſements and diſſipation, ſhe aſked of herſelf to be ſhewn the ruſſian fleet. The idea was applauded.

The

The neceſſary orders were immediately given; and the next day, on riſing from table, every thing was ready at the water-ſide for receiving the princeſs. On her coming down, ſhe was handed into a boat with magnificent awnings. The conſul, and ſeveral ladies, ſeated themſelves with her. A ſecond boat conveyed vice-admiral Greig and count Alexius Orloff; and a third, filled with ruſſian and engliſh officers, cloſed the proceſſion. The boats put off from ſhore in ſight of an immenſe multitude of people, and were received by the fleet, with a band of muſic, ſalutes of artillery, and repeated huzzas. As the princeſs came alongſide the ſhip of which ſhe was to go on board, a ſplendid chair was let down from the yard, in which being ſeated, ſhe was hoiſted upon deck; and it was obſerved to her, that theſe were particular honours paid to her rank.

But no ſooner was ſhe on board than ſhe was handcuffed. In vain ſhe implored for pity of the cruel betrayer, whom ſhe ſtill called her huſband. In vain ſhe threw herſelf at his feet, and watered them with her tears. No anſwer was even vouchſafed to her lamentations. She was carried down into the hold; and the next day the veſſel ſet ſail for Ruſſia.

On

On arriving at Peterſburg, the young victim was ſhut up in the fortreſs; and what became of her afterwards was never known*.

In the mean time, the inhabitants of Leghorn, who had ſeen the princeſs embark, heard ſhortly after with horror, that inſtead of a grand entertainment, which ſhe was led to expect, on board the fleet, ſhe was put into irons. The grand duke of Tuſcany, whoſe territory was thus ſo ſhamefully inſulted, wrote immediately to Vienna and to Peterſburg to complain of the outrage. But Alexius Orloff inſolently braved both the complaints of Leopold and the public indignation.

An adventure that happened during count Orloff's ſtay at Rome, may ſerve to throw ſome

* It was affirmed by ſome, that the waters of the Neva, ſix years afterwards, put an end to her misfortunes, by drowning her in the priſon, in the inundation of 1777. On the 10th of September of that year, a wind at S. S. W. raiſed the waters of the gulph of Finland towards the Neva, with a violence ſo extraordinary that it ſwelled that river to the height of ten feet above its uſual level, and drove many veſſels on ſhore. The author of the intereſting "Memoires "ſecrets ſur l'Italie," who ſome time ſince printed a part of theſe particulars, ſurmiſes that the young Tarranakoff fell in priſon by the hands of the executioner. The truth is, the grounds are but very ſlight for rendering credible either the one or the other account.

light

light on the brutal character of the man. One evening that he was at ſupper in a houſe * with a large company, he wiſhed to diſplay his extraordinary ſtrength. He with great eaſe broke in his hand ſeveral pieces of criſtal and iron. He then took between two of his fingers an apple, which he broke into ſeveral pieces. A royal duke, brother of an illuſtrious monarch, was at table; one of the pieces of apple ſtruck the prince on his face, and hurt him. Every one preſent was extremely affected at this accident. Alexius Orloff alone ſeemed entirely unmoved, and even deigned not to make the ſlighteſt apology to the duke.

Though repeatedly vanquiſhed, the ottoman armies were eaſily recruited, and reſiſted the efforts of the Ruſſians; like a terrible hydra, whoſe heads increaſed under the reiterated blows of Romantzoff and his inferior commanders. The ruſſian general Veiſſmann croſſed the Danube, and beat the Turks near Iſaccia. Soon after this the grand vizir forced him to repaſs that river, and advanced to Bukhareſt with an army of 100,000 men. There the Turks were completely victorious. But no long time was

* At the houſe of the marchioneſs Gentili Bocca Paduli.

allowed

allowed them to rejoice in their ſucceſſes. In three ſucceſſive battles the Ruſſians regained the upper hand.

The grand vizir retreated into the mountains of the Bulgarians; and Romantzoff, leaving the right bank of the Danube, took up his winter-quarters in Moldavia and Valachia.

The khan of the Krimea fought valiantly for the Turks. Catharine reſolved to be revenged on him, and deprive the enemy of this aſſiſtance. She had already for ſome time eſtabliſhed a ſort of intelligence in the Krimea. Her emiſſaries were ſecretly working to ſow diſſentions among the Tartars, and to draw off from the khan the confidence of his ſubjects. They ſucceeded in theſe endeavours; and valour completed what had been begun by intrigue.

The famous lines of Perekop had ſubmitted, forty years before, to the intrepidity of Munich. Learning prudence by this example, the khans of the Krimea rendered this paſſage more difficult than it had hitherto been. Nevertheleſs, neither a ditch of 72 feet in width, and 42 in depth, nor 50,000 Tartars, who defended it, were able to check the career of prince Dolgorucky. By forcing this barrier that general made himſelf maſter of all the Krimea: and as

the reward of his victory, he received of the empress the surname of Krimsky *.

The khan, forced to abandon his country, to avoid falling into the power of the conqueror, retired to the dependencies of Turkey. Prince Dolgorucky immediately caused a new khan to be elected; but neither was this such an one as the Russians wanted; and he detached himself from their party without delay.

The grand signor, incensed that Abaza-pasha, and some other of the turkish commanders, had basely abandoned the Krimea, sent them the fatal bow-string, and caused their bleeding heads to be exposed on the gates of the seraglio.

The desertion of the Krim by the turkish commanders was not the only act of treachery of which the Porte had at that time to complain. It had just concluded †, with the court of Vienna,

* This is an ancient custom in Russia. Prince Dolgorucky received the surname of Krimsky, because he conquered the Krim; marshal Romantzoff that of Sadunaisky, because he crossed the Danube; Alexius Orloff that of Tschesmenskoï, because of the victory at Tschesmè; marshal Suvaroff that of Rimnitsky; as the famous duke Alexander had anciently received that of Nevsky or Nefsky, on account of his gaining a victory over the Swedes on the banks of the Neva.

† The 6th of July.

a secret

a ſecret treaty, by which that court engaged to take up arms offenſively in its behalf, on condition that it would defray the expences of the war, and that it would reſtore at the peace a part of Valachia and ſome other auſtrian territories which it had conquered. Faithful to theſe engagements, the Porte began by paying the court of Vienna five millions of imperial florins*. The court of Vienna made uſe of it immediately: but, to the ſhame of the profeſſors of the chriſtian faith, it was in making preparations for turning its arms againſt the Porte itſelf, and to unite with Ruſſia.

For ſome time paſt a dreadful ſcourge had been ravaging the interior of Ruſſia. The plague had manifeſted itſelf in Moſco; and the ignorance of the phyſicians, in conjunction with the ſuperſtition of the people, increaſed its fury. The phyſicians at firſt miſtook the diſtemper for nothing more than an epidemical fever; and the people, who ſaw that the phyſicians were not able to cure it, purſued them on all ſides, and forced them into concealment in order to eſcape their rage. But it will be neceſſary to

* This ſum makes 1,093,750l. ſterling. Some perſons pretend that the Porte reckoned only 6000 purſes, or 787,500l. ſterling. But the procedure of the court of Vienna is not at all the leſs odious.

ſpeak ſomewhat more particularly on this ſubject. It is well known that the turkiſh dominions, whether from a want of due attention to cleanlineſs, or from whatever other cauſe, are more ſubject to this malady than the countries of Europe. The ruſſian army, after defeating the Turks, on their entering their territories and towns as conquerors, were met by the contagion, and brought it with them to their country; where the folly of ſeveral of their generals contributed to its propagation, as if they thought, by a military word of command, to alter the nature of things. Lieutenant-general Stoffeln, at Yaſſy, where the peſtilence raged in the winter of 1770, iſſued peremptory orders, that its name ſhould not be pronounced: he even obliged the phyſicians and the ſurgeons to draw up a declaration in writing, that it was only a ſpotted fever. One honeſt ſurgeon, of the name of Kluge, refuſed to ſign it. In this manner the ſeaſon of prevention was neglected; the men fell dead upon the road in heaps. Several thouſand ruſſian ſoldiers were by this means carried off: the number of burghers that died was never known, as they had run into the country and into the foreſts. At length the havoc of death reached the general's own people; he remained true to his perſuaſion, left the

the town, and went into the more perilous camp: but his intrepidity availed him nothing; he died of the plague in July 1771. Aſſiſtance now arrived; but it was too late: almoſt all the ſick were ſent to die in lazarets. The deſertion of the place was the only remaining remedy. Two regiments of infantry and one battalion amounted only to 400 men. To the ſame ſmall number were likewiſe in September the regiments at Khotyim reduced, alſo from want of precaution. The baggages that had been packed up in the time of the plague were brought out, and opened, that the ſoldiers who had ſerved the campaign in their waiſtcoats alone might have their coats againſt winter; the clothes were ſo infected, that the people who were employed in unfolding them were immediately attacked with mortal ulcers. In Kief no phyſician or ſurgeon had ever ſeen the plague; they therefore took it for a putrid ſpotted fever. Afterwards, but too late, they were better adviſed. The free intercourſe at the markets and in the churches had already univerſally ſpread the miaſma. Add to this, the ſoldiers were not reſtrained from robbing the infected houſes of the dead; thus infecting themſelves and others. Even the commandant was negligent of his duty, in not taking care, by regu-

 lations

lations and punishments, that the houses were duly cleansed and ventilated; nay, he was covetous enough to cause whole chests full of linen and other goods to be brought out of these houses, and stowed in the vaults of his. The governor gave rise to a shameful and stupid piece of superstition, to which he was persuaded by a turkish officer taken prisoner, who purchased his freedom by it. This man wrote tickets, containing these words: "O great "Muhammed, have pity for this once on the "christians, for the sake of our deliverance "from captivity, and free them soon from "the pestilence!" The governor caused the writing to be stuck on poles against the belfries of the christian churches; the people trusted to the remedy, and were still more careless of themselves than before: the pestilence, therefore, naturally spread farther and wider. Within a few months of the year 1770, one quarter of the town alone lost upwards of 6000 persons.

With such miserable doings, it is no wonder that the dreadful distemper came by the army from Poland and from the Ukraine, about christmas 1770, even to Mosco. Alas! here too at the beginning, an ukause was printed and published, to assure the people, that there was no pestilence, and that a false alarm had been

wickedly

wickedly raiſed among the burghers. Beſides, ſome phyſicians and ſurgeons maintained the ſame thing much later. But when the empreſs was informed of the truth of the matter, ſhe diſpatched aſſiſtance with all ſpeed to Kief and to Moſco. The calamity had already riſen to its height in this great metropolis. The principal families left it betimes, and went into the country, and with them went all that were able: the former might indeed have gone out of clean houſes; but who would anſwer for the others? Hence the contagion was ſpread through the neighbouring villages and towns, where at leaſt 30,000 perſons periſhed. But it may be computed, that in Moſco only the fourth part of the ordinary number of its inhabitants were left alive: however, afterwards, in December 1771, juſt upon the ſtopping of the plague, it was found by calculation, that upwards of 60,000 died there within a year not yet complete. The dead lay for three or four days in the ſtreets where they had fallen, or where they had been thrown out from the houſes; as the police had neither carts nor people enough to carry them away. The worthy general Yerapkin was making every exertion in his power, when in September the empreſs, who, as it is expreſſed in the patent, preferred the welfare of her ſubjects

to every other consideration, in this perilous time sent her favourite Gregory Orloff with extraordinary full powers to check the further incursions of the malady at that place, and to put an end to the evil on the spot. On this pressing exigency the sum of 100,000 rubles was immediately issued. Orloff went daily to the senate; and every week a ukause came out. He appointed a commission of health, of which, besides a general and a state-counsellor, the most skilful physicians were members. In addition to the two pest-houses, monasteries and palaces were turned into lazarets, a building was appropriated to orphan children from the infected houses, several of the public offices were converted into places for the keeping of quarantine, and other salutary measures were adopted. At these establishments the necessary persons were put immediately upon stipends; and all physicians and surgeons who were conspicuous for their diligence and zeal were handsomely rewarded. A new turn was given to the whole business; and all the precautions for safety were visibly attended with due effects. But methods of cure were still apparently not to be found: very few of such as once caught the infection escaped with their lives; their being inclosed, however, prevented its farther progress. It was only

only the ſevere winter that put an end to the calamity in Moſco, as well as in the other infected places. At the beginning of September, in Moſco, died every day 800 perſons; about the middle of October 700 to 600; the 21ſt of October only 400. The froſt continued to grow more intenſe: on the 15th of November the plague carried off 150 perſons; on the 30th ſtill 75; but on the 4th of December only 10 died, and ſo continually fewer: two, three, five, and, on ſome intervening days, not even one; till the 6th of January 1772, the plague entirely ceaſed.—In the night of the 30th of December, during a violent ſtorm of wind, a fire broke out in the imperial palace, inhabited by the newly-appointed governor, prince Volkonſky. As the ſtructure was chiefly of timber, the whole of it, together with the church, was entirely conſumed.

A more calamitous hiſtory of this unfortunate time to Moſco ſtill remains to be related. It ſhould ſeem as if the afflictive viſitations to which the human race is ſubject from the courſe of Nature, and to which Nature herſelf at length applies the moſt effectual remedies, were not ſufficient; the moſt horrid diſtortion of mind, fanaticiſm, muſt be brought in to increaſe the calamity. The ſuperſtitious populace in this metropolis

metropolis despised the precautions recommended by government, and the prescriptions of the physicians. The latter, especially such as were foreigners, frequently, as they passed through the streets, were not sure of their lives. Prayers to the pictures of the saints were held to be the only true methods of cure. This, which at first was no more than an unhappy folly, soon grew into a criminal fury. In September, a fortnight before the arrival of Gregory Orloff, a hot-brained enthusiast of the vulgar class of people, got together a number of the rabble, and declared to them that the picture of God's mother, near the Varvarskoï gate (the bridge-gate of St. Barbara leading to a chapel) had appeared to him, complaining of neglect in the worship of it, and promising by a miracle to quell the pestilence if that worship was zealously revived. At this gate he continued standing, and declared the same thing to the priests and passengers as they passed through it. The story was spread from one to the other, and none of the hearers thought of raising a doubt whether or not the man was in his right mind. The faithful from all parts of the town flocked in great multitudes to St. Barbara's gate, addressing the picture in vociferous cries, bringing ornaments of dress to hang about it, and on that and the following days

days made many confiderable prefents to it in gold and jewels. Now began proceffions, and continued in endlefs fucceffion. The fick particularly preffed forward on this occafion, and fuch as were not fick mingled among them. The dæmon of peftilence could have found no better a helpmate than the dæmon of fuperftition. The primate of Mofco, the archhierèy or archbifhop Amvrofi, (Ambrofius,) a virtuous and enlightened man, wifhed to put an end to this dreadful rage, and to that end applied for affiftance to general Yerapkin, who gave him five foldiers. Thefe he fent in filence late in the winter-evening to the Varvarfkoï gate, to fetch away the picture that was now become the caufe of fuch public affliction. But neither night nor day was the gate free from a fanatical tumult before the painted mother of God. The foldiers were driven off. The mob poured invectives on the archhierèy, and, one and all crying out that he was a heretic, ran to the church-belfries and rang all the bells, to rouze the whole populace of the city, and bring them together to inform them of the intended violation of the holy figure. Every one rofe in hafte, and ran into the ftreets imagining it to be an alarm of fire; but upon inquiry were informed of what had happened; the prudent were but few in number,

and

and the reſt made a common cauſe with the inſurgents and joined the throng. The prelate in the mean time had fled to the Donſkoï monaſtery without the city. This was reported abroad in the morning; the wild multitude tumultuouſly ran thither, and found the archbiſhop in the celebration of divine worſhip. Neither the place, nor the ſtation, nor the age of the man, neither his dreſs nor his preſent employment, made any impreſſion on the enthuſiaſtic barbarians; they fell upon the venerable old man, threw him to the ground, beat him on the head, and completed his murder with knives. The body remained till the following day lying before the gate of the monaſtery. Thus fell this martyr to illumination, the generous friend of his ungrateful countrymen.

The furious multitude now ran back into the city. A party of them attacked the Daniilofskoï monaſtery, now converted into a lazaret, drove the peſtilent out of it, and ill-treated the ſurgeons. The ſame thing they did at the quarantine houſe. The archiepiſcopal reſidence was plundered, the moſt valuable of the goods were taken away, the reſt deſtroyed: the ſtore-cellars under it, hired by a merchant for wine and other liquors, were emptied. Several officers who attempted to check their exceſſes, turned

turned back with bleeding heads. The madneſs increaſed every moment, and the cry was now againſt the phyſicians and ſurgeons, whom they imagined to have occaſioned the peſtilence. An italian dancing-maſter happened to come in their way: he muſt certainly be a doctor; they broke both his arms and his legs, and in that condition inhumanly left him lying in the ſtreet. The houſe of a phyſician was attacked and plundered. They then proceeded to the great hoſpital, from which the director and attendants, and even the ſoldiers who amounted to 100 men with loaded fire-arms, all ran away. All the phyſicians and ſurgeons had already made their eſcape into the country.—But now, towards evening the brave general Yerapkin, at the head of 150 ſoldiers, carabineers and huſſars, with two field pieces, marched up to the turbulent crew; the fight was obſtinate and laſted till midnight: 250 rebels were laid dead upon the ſtreet, 300 taken priſoners, and of thoſe that diſperſed many were afterwards found wounded and dead. Early on the following morning, the general rode at the head of his men with drawn ſabres through the ſtreets of Moſco, and placed picquets in proper places. The day after, a regiment of infantry, from the villages, entered the town. The governor, the deputy-governor, police-maſter, general

general of artillery, and all whoſe duty it was to be vigilant in preſerving peace and order in the city, had prudently forſaken Moſco. Catharine rewarded the brave Yerapkin in a truly imperial manner.

Let us figure to ourſelves the ſtate of that enormous city while theſe tumults laſted; at a time when the minds of all men were oppreſſed with grief at the dreadful viſitation of the plague, when every one knew that each day 800 perſons fell around him. But during the days of confuſion it was impoſſible to think of enumerating the dead or of viſiting the ſick. The number of thoſe who died muſt have been very great, as the peſtilence increaſed beyond all proportion by the mixture of the people. From the 1ſt to the 9th of October, the calculation was renewed, and the dead were computed at 5400; till the numbers afterwards decreaſed in the above-mentioned ratio, by the counteraction of the froſt.—At the re-appearance of ſpring 1772, the return of the calamity was apprehended; the care of the government was therefore redoubled. It was publiſhed throughout the city, that whoever kept in concealment any goods or other things in houſes that had been infected, even though they were ſtolen, he might freely produce them; and, inſtead of puniſhment, ſhould receive from

from 10 to 20 rubles; farther, that ſuch articles as had been in the poſſeſſion of infected perſons, and conſequently muſt be burnt, ſhould be paid for according to their full value. This had the deſired effect: the people very readily produced what they had, according to the tenor of the proclamation, as by ſo doing they got money and loſt nothing. The viſiting of the ſick, of whatever nature were their complaints, was ſeduloully continued. Travellers underwent a ſtrict examination, and were obliged to remain a certain time in quarantine-houſes, of which, between Moſco and Peterſburg alone there were no leſs than ſeven. However, at the cloſe of January 1772 the plague had entirely diſappeared, which, according to ſome ſtatements, during its continuance, from December 1771 to December 1772, had coſt the ruſſian empire 133,299 perſons.

Concerning the murder of the archbiſhop, ſome accounts pretend, that after having cauſed the ſacred picture to be removed from its place, the people became more furious *, and accuſing the

* It is difficult to imagine to what length the Ruſſians carry their fanaticiſm for theſe pictures of the ſaints, which they call bohgs or gods. The figure of ſome ſaint is painted in gaudy colours on a piece of board, and the ſilver, gold,

the archbiſhop of inhumanity and ſacrilege, they broke open the doors of a monaſtery in which the prelate had ſought an aſylum: the archbiſhop then thought to eſcape the rage of the multitude by hiding himſelf in the ſanctuary, where, ac-

gold, or diamonds about the hands and face of it conſtitute its value. When a Ruſſian enters a room, the firſt thing he does is to ſalute the god, which is placed againſt the wall in one corner, by bowing and croſſing himſelf. St. Nicholas, St. John the baptiſt, St. Sergius, and St. Alexander Nefsky, are the figures in moſt requeſt, except the bogoroditza, the mother of God. Every one has his particular patron, to which he applies in caſes of need. When his neighbours ſee that he ſucceeds in the culture of his fields or in trade, they borrow or hire his god, to which they attribute his proſperity. They then pay the borrowed figure all ſorts of reverence and offerings. There are in ſome towns god-markets, and the ſole difference between the chaffering, is, that in this the word money muſt never be pronounced. Some people will never go to their daily labour, or ſet out on a journey, without taking their god with them; and if a ſtranger call at their houſe in the mean time, and aſks to ſalute the *bog*, the wife replies that he is gone into the fields, or on a journey. St. George is a protector of horned cattle. The horſes are looked after by St. Anthony, and the fiſh by St. Jonas; one cures one diſeaſe and another another.— But perhaps it is unjuſt to deride any religion for its ſuperſtitions; all national eſtabliſhments have them under one form or another;

Facies non omnibus una
Nec diverſa tamen, qualem decet eſſe ſororum.

cording

cording to the greek ritual, the priests alone have a right to enter. Unfortunately, a child seeing him pass by, ran and told where he was. The rabble rushed into the church, and seizing on the old man, dragged him to the gate in order to kill him. The unfortunate archbishop, perceiving that his death was inevitable, conjured the assassins to let him go up to the altar to communicate once more. To this they consented; and stood calmly looking on while the venerable prelate was performing the pious ceremony; which he had no sooner finished, than they sprung upon him again, and, hauling him out of the church, barbarously put him to death in the manner already related. The soldiers of the police arrived too late to save the archbishop's life; but they arrested some of the leaders of the mob, who were knooted to death.

Great praise was certainly due to count Gregory Orloff for his conduct while the plague was raging at Mosco. The empress, as we have seen, had already sent assistance to stop the progress of the contagion; but it was attended with no effect. It was necessary that some man of authority should go thither to awe the populace, and make them submit to the regulations prescribed, and to the observance of more cleanliness than usual. Gregory Orloff had the

courage to go and brave both the peſtilence and ſuperſtition. He repaired to Moſco with extraordinary promptitude; he prohibited and prevented all kinds of aſſemblies; he himſelf viſited the perſons afflicted with the epidemical diſtemper; he procured them all the aſſiſtance they wanted; and he took particular care to order the ſurgeons and the officers who ſeconded him, to ſee to the burning of the cloaths of the ſick who fell victims to this terrible ſcourge; till the malady at laſt yielded to the unceaſing attentions of count Gregory Orloff and the ſeverity of the winter.

On his return to St. Peterſburg, Gregory Orloff found in Catharine a grateful ſovereign. That princeſs cauſed a column to be erected and a medal to be ſtruck, as memorials to poſterity of the ſervice he had rendered his country.

The peſtilence had not only attacked the interior parts of Ruſſia: the ruſſian and ottoman armies, who were fighting on the banks of the Danube, were infected with it. They ſpread it in Poland; and this it was that ſerved as a pretence for the invaſion which had long been meditating by the king of Pruſſia.

The empreſs was adding from day to day to the weight of the yoke which ſhe had lain upon Poland. Her troops purſued on all ſides the

the routed confederates of Bar, and pillaged or ravaged their poſſeſſions. That princeſs herſelf did not diſdain to partake in the ſpoil. They carried off the famous library of prince Radzivil, containing an invaluable collection of lithuanian hiſtory, and it was tranſported to Peterſburg, from whence it undoubtedly will never return. But at the very time that ſo odious a depredation was carrying on, Catharine tranſmitted to Warſaw declarations, in which ſhe ſpoke of nothing but her equity, her beneficence, and the deſires ſhe was cheriſhing for the pacification of Poland.

The Poles, irritated at the tyranny of the Ruſſians, were inceſſantly making new efforts to free themſelves from it. They believed their unhappy king was in concert with the empreſs; and in that perſuaſion they attempted to revenge upon him the miſeries which ſhe was bringing on them. The confederates had elected for their general a poliſh nobleman named Pulaufsky, a man of conſummate intrepidity, and ſo paſſionately devoted to the cauſe of liberty, that he made no heſitation of ſerving the moſt righteous of cauſes by criminal means.

Pulaufsky reſolved to get poſſeſſion of the king's perſon, and truſted the execution of his

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASVATI MAHAL

his project to three other confederates*, of whose boldness and capacity he was well acquainted. After having taken an oath to their general either to deliver to him the king, or to put him to death if they could not bring him off alive, the three chiefs and 40 dragoons, disguised as peasants, entered Warsaw by different routes. They learnt the following sunday† that the king was to pass the evening at prince Chartorinsky's, his uncle. Some of them then went and posted themselves without the city, while the others were lurking about in ambush in the way which the king was to pass. At about 10 o'clock at night that prince, accompanied by 14 or 15 persons, and having one of his aides-de-camp in his carriage, were returning to the palace, when all at once the conspirators advanced, and bade the coachman stop. At the same time pistols were several times discharged at the carriage. One of the heyducque's being struck with a ball, fell down‡. The rest of the king's suite, without excepting the aid-de-camp, took to flight. One of the assassins fired a pistol at the king, and pierced his hat. Another

* Lukaufsky, Stravensky, and Kosinsky.

† The 3d of September. ‡ He died the day after.

made

made a ſtroke at his head, and gave him a deep wound. After this they took him by the collar, and dragged him between their horſes along the darkeſt ſtreets. Perceiving ſoon that he began to breathe hard, and that it was impoſſible for him to keep up with them on foot, they made him get upon a horſe, and on their coming to the foſſé which ſurrounds Warſaw, they forced him to take the leap with them. The horſe on which the king rode fell and broke his leg. The king received a hurt in his foot. They then mounted his majeſty on another horſe. One of the chiefs plucked off his order of the black eagle of Pruſſia, and the croſs of diamonds that was appendant to the riband. This done, the greater part of the conſpirators diſperſed. Seven of them alone, under the orders of Koſinſky, remained with the king, and wandered about with him a long time in the dark, endeavouring to avoid the beaten paths. Soon after, they found themſelves in a foreſt only one league diſtant from Warſaw. The voices of ſome ruſſian patrolls were heard. The conſpirators were frightened, and fled. The king remained alone with Koſinſky: but, not daring to call for aſſiſtance, for fear that Koſinſky might kill him, he tried to perſuade him to let him eſcape. Koſinſky heſitated a conſiderable

 time,

time. His oath ſtood in his way. At length, however, he yielded to the ſolicitations of the king; and, after having implored his pardon on his knees, he conducted him to a mill which ſtood at no great diſtance. The king, without making himſelf known, immediately wrote a billet, which he diſpatched by a countryman to the colonel of his guards.

Warſaw was in the utmoſt conſternation. The king's hat had been found all covered with blood; this naturally led to the belief that his majeſty was dead. But as ſoon as it was heard that he had eſcaped from his aſſaſſins, the people gave themſelves up to tranſports of joy.

Several of the villains were taken, and periſhed on the ſcaffold. Koſinſky obtained his pardon. He retired into Italy, where the king ſettled on him a penſion. As to general Pulaufsky *, he publiſhed a manifeſto, in which he declared that he had taken no ſhare in the atrocious attempt againſt the poliſh monarch. This declaration was believed by no one.

* Pulaufsky went afterwards to America, where he had the command of a legion in the ſervice of the united ſtates; and, being on a viſit to M. d'Eſtaing at the ſiege of Savannah, in 1779, he was killed by a cannon ball by the ſide of that general.

The

The danger which Staniſlaus Auguſtus had run, furniſhed the Ruſſians with a new pretext for purſuing the confederates of Bar, and for preparing the diſmemberment of Poland. But was Catharine in want of pretexts? It will preſently be ſeen that ſhe had ſo ordered matters as to be able to do without them.

1772. The Ruſſians and the Ottomans were equally in want of peace. Their armies, weakened by numerous battles, by ſucceſſive fatigues, and by the contagious diſtemper, were always recruiting and always diminiſhing in greater proportion. The ſquadron of Alexius Orloff ſtill maintained the dominion of the grecian ſeas; but the long ſojourn of the Ruſſians in a climate ſo different from their own, and the intemperance in which they indulged, had brought on an epidemic diſeaſe which threatened to carry off every ſailor of the fleet. The capudan-paſha, ambitious to retaliate the diſaſters he had ſuffered, was buſily employed in preparing new armaments in Conſtantinople, and was in hopes to bring out againſt his conquerors a ſquadron more formidable than that which had fallen a prey to the flames. Baron Tott, a french officer in the ſervice of the Porte, overcame the ignorance of the Turks, and had introduced into their arſenals ſuch order and activity as was

 dangerous

dangerous to their enemies. The valiant Mufſoum Oglou had riſen, for the ſecond time, to the poſt of grand vizir, and had reſumed the command of the army of the Danube. Notwithſtanding this, the two powers entered upon a negotiation by the intervention of the auſtrian and pruſſian miniſters. An armiſtice was agreed upon*; and a congreſs was appointed to meet at Fokſhiani.

This appeared to be a favourable opportunity to the ſchemes of count Gregory Orloff. He procured the honour of being ſent to treat with the plenipotentiaries of the divan. He had long been deſirous of ſharing the throne which he had ſecured to Catharine. He thought that, by obtaining peace for Ruſſia, he ſhould acquire an everlaſting claim upon the gratitude of the empire, and ſurmount the difficulties that had been oppoſed to his ambition. But it was this preciſely which gave birth to new ones.

Catharine had been, and was ſtill, much attached to Orloff. Orloff, on the contrary, had never felt any affection for Catharine, but what aroſe from gratitude and ambition. Proud of the favour of his ſovereign, he ſhewed him-

* This armiſtice was ſigned by the ruſſian miniſter Simolin, and by Seïd Abdukerim effendi Mukabedbadzi, grand notary of the divan.

ſelf

ſelf zealous to deſerve it: but when once he thought that he had acquired ſufficient grounds for his pretenſions, his ardour began to cool; and he even aſſumed a diſtant behaviour. The more Catharine wiſhed to bring him back to his uſual attentions, the more he ſeemed inclined to retreat, and to ſeek his amuſement in the company of other ladies. The empreſs could not but reſent this ungrateful conduct, and be ſhocked at the inſenſibility from whence it proceeded. However, on account of her fondneſs for Bobrinſky, the child of Orloff, ſhe did not diſcard him at once. This boy ſhe privately brought up in one of the ſuburbs of the city, often going to ſee him under a borrowed name, and in an artful diſguiſe. It was ſaid that, to remedy his inconſtancy, and from affection to the child, a propoſal was made him of a clandeſtine marriage: that he rejected the offer with diſdain, preſuming himſelf not unworthy of ſitting beſide her on a throne which he at firſt procured her, and had hitherto upheld. Catharine, ſurpriſed, diſſembled her diſpleaſure for a time; but conceiving that the pride of her favourite might be attended with conſequences fatal to her repoſe, ſhe reſolved, without farther delay, to get the better of an attachment which expoſed her to too great humiliation.

Though

Though there was no open miſunderſtanding between Panin and count Gregory Orloff, he was not the leſs deſirous of the downfall of this favourite. Too ſagacious, and certainly too timid, to attack him to his face, he miſſed no opportunity for giving him a ſide-blow. Orloff was far from imitating the miniſter in this procedure. He never hated any one, though he was hated by many. His arrogance had procured him a great number of enemies; his favour had raiſed him up many more. All were pleaſed at ſeeing him retire from court; and the empreſs partook in the ſatisfaction of her courtiers. She was in hopes that his abſence would completely put an end to the remainder of the attachment ſhe had cheriſhed for him.

Panin, who attentively watched the inclination of her majeſty, was not long in perceiving that ſhe often looked with complacency on a ſub-lieutenant of the guards, named Vaſſiltſchikoff. He immediately thought of uſing this young man to the overthrow of Orloff. Zachar Chernicheff, to whom the arrogance of the favourite was ſtill more odious than to Panin, gladly ſeconded the ſcheme of the miniſter. Both of them thought that the grand duke, who was not ignorant that Orloff had the preſumption to aſpire to the throne, would not fail to behold

with

with ſatisfaction whatever had a tendency to keep him from it. Every art was therefore employed to flatter the new inclination of the empreſs. Orloff was at the ſame time repreſented to her as a man of unbounded ambition, who had only ſolicited to be employed in negociating the peace at Fokſhiani, in order to betray the intereſts of Ruſſia, by artfully procuring for himſelf the ſovereignty of Moldavia and Valachia. It was the eaſier to raiſe ſuſpicions againſt him in the mind of Catharine, as ſhe found his rival more agreeable to her from day to day.

Vaſſiltſchikoff pleaſed becauſe he was young and well made: but he was deficient in intellectual improvement, in talents, in experience, and even in boldneſs. Perhaps, if it had depended on himſelf alone, he would never have ſucceeded with the empreſs: but he was not left without ſupport. Prince Baratinſky, expert in the arts of intrigue, was on this occaſion neither ſparing of his counſels nor of contrivances*. Vaſſiltſchikoff was benefited by his cares; for his docility ſerved him inſtead of merit. The empreſs was ſo ſatisfied with him, that ſhe appointed him her chamberlain, made him magnificent

* Prince Baratinſky took upon him to bring about the firſt interview of the empreſs and her new favourite.

nificent preſents, and treated him often in public with a familiarity that eaſily betrayed the underſtanding that ſubſiſted between them.

When Catharine propoſed to the imperious Orloff to enter into ſecret nuptials, that favourite was pleaſed with the thought that his refuſal would only ſharpen the deſire of the ſovereign, and that the acceſs to the throne would be eaſier to him. Accuſtomed to an affection of which he had the tendereſt pledges, he imagined it impoſſible to loſe the heart of the empreſs. What was he to think on learning that ſhe had taken advantage of his abſence for accepting the officiouſneſs of a new admirer? His mind was at firſt divided between aſtoniſhment and rage: but his pride ſoon came to his relief; and he thought that his preſence would be ſufficient to revive a flame which could not be quite extinct. Full of this idea, he forgot the negotiations, the peace, all the concerns of the empire, and left Fokſhiani without even aſking permiſſion of the empreſs, and arrived at the gates of Peterſburg. At the inſtant of his appearance, the officer on guard advanced towards his carriage, and ſhewed him the order which he had, not to let him enter the city. Orloff kept a profound ſilence, and took the road to one of his country-ſeats.

Two

Two days previous to the coming of Orloff to Peterſburg, intelligence was received that he had quitted Fokſhiani. This ſudden return had excited much uneaſineſs at court. The empreſs, who was well acquainted with the violence of his temper, and was apprehenſive that he might make his appearance in ſpite of her, gave orders to double the guard of the palace, and to place centinels at the gate of the new favourite. Not yet put completely at eaſe by theſe precautions, ſhe cauſed the locks of his apartments to be changed, of which Orloff had the key. But theſe cares were uſeleſs: there was nothing to fear from Orloff. The moment it was known that he was out of favour, he had not a partizan left, and his enemies ſtepped forward from all parts.

Orloff beheld his ſituation in the full extent of its danger; but his courage remained unſhaken. When the officers came, in the name of the empreſs, to require the demiſſion of his employments, he haughtily refuſed to comply. Her majeſty could eaſily puniſh the ſubject who reſiſted her will: ſhe rather choſe to treat with indulgence the man for whom ſhe had long entertained a regard. A compromiſe was entered upon with Orloff; and, overcome by the bounty which his ſovereign ſtill vouchſafed to ſhew him, he

he consented to retire from Petersburg, and set out upon a journey through various parts of Europe. As a recompence for his submission, he received 100,000 rubles, the brevet of a pension of 150,000, a magnificent service of plate, and an estate with 6000 peasants upon it. He had already obtained a patent of prince of the roman empire. Catharine chose that he should take the title, desirous, doubtless, that her former favourite should appear to the eyes of foreign nations with a splendor worthy of the situation which he had enjoyed.

This part of Catharine's conduct seems to indicate a degree of weakness. But no: it was not inconsistent with the firmness of her character to yield to circumstances, when a different conduct must oblige her to compliance. She knew that, by punishing prince Orloff, she would affright all those who had served her. She wished to persuade them that her gratitude even survived her affections.

CHAP. VII.

Rupture of the congress of Fokshiani.—Conferences at Bukharest.—Partition of Poland.—Peace of Kainardgi.—Emigration of the Kalmouks.—Dismissal of the favourite Vassiltschikoff.—Duke Anthony Ulric refuses his liberty.—First marriage of the grand duke.—Journey of Diderot to St. Petersburg.—Magnificence of Catharine.—Description of her person.—Her way of life.—Patriotic exertions.—Order of St. George.

1772. THE congress of Fokshiani was opened * in such a manner as to afford great hopes

* The congress opened the 2d of August. The plenipotentiaries were under tents; and the conferences were held in a kiosk, which the Russians had caused to be constructed for that purpose. Fokshiani is at the distance of about 16 miles to the north of Bukharest in Valachia. Nothing could afford a stronger contrast, than the magnificence of the russian ministers, opposed to the ottoman simplicity. The former approached in four grand coaches, preceded by hussars, and attended by 160 domestics suitably habited. The turkish ministers were on horseback, with about 60 servants, as plainly appareled and accoutred as themselves. Prince Orloff was all over one blaze of jewels: on his breast was the empress's portrait set with brilliants, together with the ensigns of the several orders with which he had been invested; all of which, as well as his epaulet and

hopes of an approaching peace. The ottoman miniſters preſented the Ruſſians with ſuperb carpets, very fine ſtuffs, and excellent arms: and Oſman effendi, who firſt broke ſilence, ſaid, "That "the grand ſignor his maſter had recommended "him to ſerve God, and to love peace."

The Ruſſians offered to Oſman and his colleagues diamonds and precious ſtones elegantly ſet, a variety of trinkets of gold, and a quantity of rich furs; on delivering which they anſwered, that they alſo were lovers of peace and juſtice. However, they demanded ſuch great ſacrifices, that the Turks were diſguſted with their propoſals. After much fruitleſs altercation, the plenipotentiaries ſeparated.

Some time afterwards, the negotiations were reſumed at Bukhareſt between marſhal Ro-

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and buckles, and ſeveral other parts of his dreſs, ſhone with diamonds. On the other hand, Oſman effendi was clothed in a robe of green camlet faced with ermine, and had nothing to diſtinguiſh him but a gold-headed cane. It would appear as if riches and magnificence had diſplayed their treaſures in the wilds of Scythia; and that ancient ſimplicity had retired to the voluptuous nations of Aſia. M. Obreſkoff, late miniſter at the Porte, attended prince Orloff. The auſtrian and pruſſian miniſters at the ſame place, having received a preſent of 50 purſes, amounting to about 25,000 dollars, each, from the grand ſignor, beſides a fixed daily allowance for their expences, attended alſo at the opening of the congreſs.

mantzoff

mantzoff and the grand vizir Muſſum Oglou. Theſe two warriors, who had ſo often fought againſt each other, were not ignorant how much their armies were in want of reſt; but their conferences were as unfruitful as thoſe of Fokſhiani. The term of the armiſtice was expired. The pacificators had no longer any thoughts of war.

During all the time that theſe negotiations had been going on, new preparations had been making for recommencing hoſtilities. The Ruſſians had concluded, with the new khan of the Krimea, a treaty by which that prince declared himſelf independent on the grand ſignor, and threw himſelf under the protection of the empreſs. The Porte, incenſed at the defection of the Tartars, no leſs than at the ceſſion they had made to the Ruſſians of the forts of Kertſch and Yenicaly, which command the ſtreights of Keffa, together with the territories belonging to them, ſent into the Euxine a ſtrong ſquadron of galliots and chebecs. Catharine had already ſent thither a conſiderable fleet, and had diſpatched to it ſeveral engliſh and dutch officers, particularly the captains Denniſon, Perry, and Kinſbergen, under the command of admiral ſir Charles Knowles.

But an object of higher importance at that time occupied the mind of Catharine. She ſaw herſelf

herſelf at length on the point of reaping the fruit of the troubles and diviſions which ſhe had been ſowing among the Poles. For a long time in agreement with the king of Pruſſia, ſhe left to that prince the care of procuring the conſent of the court of Vienna to the diſmemberment of Poland. She was, moreover, very ſure that ſhe would have but few obſtacles to overcome on the part of the other powers. France had then a miniſter not much endowed with foreſight*. England was bound to Ruſſia by its commerce. The ſtates bordering on the Baltic might be jealous at ſeeing the Ruſſians and the Pruſſians gaining ports upon that ſea; but none of them had either the means or the temerity to make head againſt them. The Ottomans were ſcarcely more to be dreaded. How ſhould they be in a condition to ſend ſuccours to Poland, when they were ſo badly able to defend themſelves, and ſaw themſelves attacked in all parts of their vaſt empire? Catharine, in ſhort, was only afraid of the refuſal of the court of Vienna; but Frederic promiſed her the acceſſion of that court.

* The duke d'Aiguillón, who had been put at the head of the department of foreign affairs, was more qualified for paying attendance on the intrigues of the boudoir and court cabals, than to balance the intereſts of Europe, and to ſupport the honour of the french nation.

Frederic,

Frederic, without hazarding any thing, might make her that promiſe. He had been long acquainted, by the relations of his miniſters, with the character of the heir of the houſe of Auſtria.

When Joſeph II. in 1769, had an interview with him at Neiſs in Sileſia, the pruſſian monarch, profiting by the aſcendant he had acquired from his experience and his fame, propoſed to the young emperor the firſt partition of Poland. Joſeph II. pleaſed with the idea of extending his dominion, beheld with joy the project of the king of Pruſſia; but deferred to enter into any engagement to concur in it, till he ſhould have conferred upon the ſubject with the old prince Kaunitz, by whoſe counſels he was guided. Kaunitz applauded the predatory plan. Some time after this * the monarchs had a ſecond interview, at Neüſtadt in Auſtria; and the diſmemberment of Poland was finally ſettled.

The plague, which had been ravaging the frontiers of Poland ſince the foregoing year, furniſhed the king of Pruſſia with an occaſion for advancing his troops pretty far into poliſh Pruſſia. The emperor had the ſame pretext for marching his into ſuch of the provinces as lay moſt conveniently for him.

* In 1770.

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASVATI MAHAL

Joseph II. seemed about to give succours to the confederates of Bar. His last treaty obliged him even to join with the Turks against the Russians; but that prince entertained very different designs; and he was so well practised in the arts of dissimulation, that the confederates, deceived by his promises, regarded for a long time as their defenders the soldiers who were come to make a prey of their country.

The foreign armies extended from one end of Poland to the other, and acted equally against the confederates, who were soon obliged to disperse. The greater part returned to their homes. The rest went to publish abroad among foreign nations their complaints and their misfortunes.

All Europe had its eyes fixed on Poland. It could not be conceived why three formidable powers, in a time of profound peace, should seize upon a country, the independence whereof had been guaranteed by the most solemn treaties. Mankind were likewise at a loss to know what might be the drift of the negociations which continually employed these powers. It was at length discovered. The minister of the emperor was the first who notified the treaty of Petersburg to the king and the senate of Poland. The ambassador

ambaſſador of Ruſſia and the envoy of Pruſſia preſented to them, almoſt immediately upon it, declarations in ſupport of that treaty.

We ſhall here inſert the declaration of baron Stackelberg, miniſter of Ruſſia, to ſhew what falſe and inſidious language the authors of the deſolations dared to hold:

" The powers in the vicinity of Poland have been ſo
" often involved in the troubles which almoſt every vacancy
" of the throne has excited in that kingdom, that from the
" recollection of the paſt it behoved them to give the moſt
" ſerious attention to the affairs of the poliſh nation, as
" ſoon as, by the death of the late king, Auguſtus III,
" the throne was become vacant.

" Urged by theſe conſiderations, and deſirous of pre-
" venting the dreadful effects of thoſe diſſentions, which,
" as in former inſtances, might have ariſen at this laſt
" vacancy of the throne, the court of St. Peterſburg
" haſtened to take all poſſible meaſures to unite the citizens
" of Poland in favour of the candidate who ſhould appear
" to be moſt worthy of the throne, moſt agreeable to his
" fellow-citizens, and moſt acceptable to the neigh-
" bouring powers.

" This court applied herſelf at the ſame time, and with
" equal zeal, to the rectifying of many abuſes and defects in
" the conſtitution, which had been equally prejudicial to
" Poland and her neighbours.

" The court of Berlin ſeconded the attempts of her ally.
" And the court of Vienna, deſirous, on her part, of contri-
" buting to the ſucceſs of ſuch laudable views, but willing,
" at the ſame time, to avoid the danger of augmenting the
" difficulties and intricacies which might ariſe from multi-

" plying the number of thoſe who undertook openly and
" directly to ſettle the affairs of Poland, thought proper
" to obſerve the moſt exact neutrality, with regard both to
" the arrangement of the affairs of Poland, and the war
" which was afterwards kindled on this ſubject between
" Ruſſia and the Porte.

" The immediate conſequences of theſe meaſures were
" the free and legal election of Staniſlaus Auguſtus*,
" reigning king of Poland, and the forming of many uſeful
" and ſalutary eſtabliſhments. In a word, every thing
" ſeemed to promiſe to Poland and her neighbours a firm
" and laſting tranquillity.

" But unhappily, in the midſt of theſe promiſing appear-
" ances, the ſpirit of diſcord ſeized upon one part of the
" nation: citizen armed againſt citizen; the ſons of faction
" ſeized the reins of authority; and laws, and order, and
" public ſafety, and juſtice, and police, and commerce, and
" agriculture, all are either gone to ruin, or ſtand on the
" brink of deſtruction. And the exceſſes of every kind,
" natural conſequences of ſuch an anarchy, will bring on
" the total diſſolution of the ſtate, if not timely prevented.

" The connections between nations which border on each
" other are ſo intimate, that the ſubjects of the neighbour-
" ing powers have already felt the moſt diſagreeable effects
" from theſe diſorders. Theſe powers are obliged, at a
" great expence, to take meaſures of precaution, in order
" to ſecure the tranquillity of their own frontiers; they are
" expoſed to the uncertain but poſſible conſequences of the
" entire diſſolution of Poland; to the danger of ſeeing their

* And it was to the Poles that the miniſter Stackelberg had the aſſurance to ſay, that the election of Poniatofsky had been free and legal!

" mutual

"mutual harmony and good friendſhip deſtroyed; the "maintenance of which, at the ſame time that it ſecures "their own peace and tranquillity, is a matter of the "higheſt importance to all Europe.

"From this view of things it will appear, that nothing "can be of a more urgent neceſſity than to apply an imme- "diate remedy to evils from which the neighbouring nations "have already experienced the moſt diſagreeable effects; "and the conſequences of which, if not timely prevented, "muſt bring on ſuch changes in the political ſyſtem of "this part of Europe, as may be fatal to the general "tranquillity.

"Impelled by reaſons ſo many and ſo weighty, her "majeſty the empreſs of all the Ruſſias, her majeſty the "empreſs dowager queen of Hungary and Bohemia, and "his majeſty the king of Pruſſia, find themſelves under "a neceſſity of taking a deciſive part, in circumſtances "ſo very critical. And their ſaid majeſties have determined "among themſelves, without loſs of time, and with one "accord, to take the moſt effectual and beſt-combined "meaſures, for the purpoſe of re-eſtabliſhing tranquillity "and good order in Poland, to ſtop the preſent troubles, "and to put the ancient conſtitution of that kingdom, and "the liberties of the people, on a ſure and ſolid found- "ation.

"But whilſt they take advantage of that mutual friend- "ſhip and harmony which happily ſubſiſts between them at "preſent, in order to prevent the abſolute ruin and arbi- "trary diſſolution of Poland; they cannot but be ſenſible "how little it is in their power to promiſe themſelves in "future periods the ſame happy concurrence. And as "they have reſpectively very conſiderable claims on the "poſſeſſions of the republic, which they cannot permit "themſelves to expoſe to the hazard of poſſible contin-

" gencies, they have therefore determined among them-" selves to affert thefe their ancient rights and lawful " claims, which each of them will be ready to juftify in time " and place by authentic records and folid reafons; but for " which the fituation of the republic will never leave them " hopes of obtaining juftice in the ordinary courfe of pro-" ceeding.

" In confequence hereof her majefty the emprefs of all " the Ruffias, her majefty the emprefs dowager queen of " Hungary and Bohemia, and his majefty the king of " Pruffia, having communicated reciprocally their re-" fpective rights and claims, and being mutually con-" vinced of the juftice thereof, are determined to fecure " to themfelves a proportionable equivalent, by taking " immediate and effectual poffeffion of fuch parts of the " territories of the republic as may ferve to fix more natural " and fure bounds between her and the three powers: the " faid three powers engaging to give hereafter an exact " fpecification of their refpective quotas; and renouncing " from the prefent moment all revival of right, demand, or " claim, on account of damages fuftained, debt, intereft, or " any other pretence whatever, which they might other-" wife have or form on the poffeffions or fubjects of the " republic.

" Their faid majefties have thought it right to notify " thefe their intentions to the whole polifh nation in general; " inviting, at the fame time, all orders and ranks thereof to " banifh, or at leaft to fufpend, all fpirit of difcord and " delufion, in order that, a diet being legally affembled, " they may co-operate with their faid majefties in eftablifhing, " on a firm and folid foundation, the good order and tran-" quillity of the nation, and may at the fame time ratify, " by public and folemn acts, the exchange of the titles, " pretenfions, and claims of each of their majefties, againft

" the

" the equivalents of which they have respectively taken
" possession.

(Signed) " STACKELBERG.

" Given at Warsaw, September 2, 1772 *."

It has since been seen how faithfully these three powers adhered to their renunciation!

The indignant Poles cried out against the injustice. They claimed the intervention of the potentates guarantees of the treaty of Oliva; a treaty that had assured to them the integrity of their territory, and which had long been regarded as the grand charter of the north. Some of these potentates made remonstrances, not less unavailing than the complaints of the Poles. Not content with having already seized on a part of the provinces of Poland, the three imperial and royal spoliators insisted that a diet should solemnly make to them the cession of these provinces. The diet was immediately convoked and assembled †. Promises and money were lavished to gain over the deputies. Nevertheless the majority of the diet for a long time refused

* This manifesto was delivered on the 18th of September by baron Stackelberg, minister from the court of Petersburg; and by the sieur de Benoit, minister from the court of Berlin; and on the 26th of September by baron Rjevitch, minister from the court of Vienna.

† The 19th of April.

refused their consent to the dismemberment. Provoked at a resistance which had not been expected, the ministers of the three courts threatened the diet with the full animadversion of their sovereigns. They said, that they would cause the king to be arrested and deposed; and it was privily circulated by their emissaries, that if the diet refused its compliance, Warsaw should be delivered up to pillage. By repeated alurements and stratagems, the consent of the diet was at length obtained. It issued at the same time a decree to confine to a small number of days the time of their sittings*, and it appointed commissioners to settle with the ministers of the three courts the conditions of the partition. It may easily be imagined that these conditions were dictated by the ministers themselves. They were signed in the month of September following.

Some nobles of the usurped provinces had the courage to protest against the treaty, and to publish manifestos. But of what avail were these solitary exclamations against numerous armies?

Previous to the convocation of the diet, and during the whole of its continuance, the king had loudly declared against the partition. Not-

* It broke up in the month of May.

withstanding

withstanding this, it was pretended that he secretly favoured it, and persons who knew his former devotedness to Russia, could not persuade themselves that he would now give it up.

As soon as the accession to the treaty of partition was voted, several of the principal members of the diet repaired to the king, and reproached him sharply with the ruin of their country. The monarch at first answered them with gentleness. But soon perceiving that his moderation only served to embolden them and to provoke fresh insults, he rose up, threw his hat upon the floor, and said to them haughtily, "Gentlemen, "I am weary of hearkening to you. The "partition of our unhappy country is a con-"sequence of your ambition, of your dissentions, "and your eternal disputes. It is to yourselves "alone that you ought to attribute your misfor-"tunes. As for me, if no more territory should "be left me than could be covered by this hat, "I should nevertheless be still, in the eyes of all "Europe, your lawful, but unhappy king."

By the dismemberment of Poland it lost nearly 5,000,000 of inhabitants. The country that fell to Russia, and which was the most extensive, contained 1,500,000. That which Austria had, 2,500,000, on a territory far less extensive.

Prussia

Pruſſia acquired only 860,000 ſouls*: but ſhe was compenſated by the commerce and the vicinity of the Viſtula, and by the city of Dantzik, of which Frederic had already laid the plan of rendering himſelf maſter.

The three courts who thus appropriated to themſelves the ſpoils of Poland, were not unmindful at the ſame time of putting it in a ſtate of impoſſibility ever to regain what they had now been uſurping from it. However dangerous the form of its government might have been, they were determined to render it ſtill more corrupt. They cauſed full powers to be granted to the commiſſioners of the diet, to employ themſelves, in concert with them or their miniſters, in making the changes required by the conſtitution of the republic; and, under the ſpecious pretext of

* Ruſſia acquired 3440 ſquare leagues, Auſtria 2700, and Pruſſia 900. The country uſurped by Ruſſia had for its limits the river Vella, from its ſource to the place where it falls into the Niemen, and the river Bercezina, as far as Rjeſieka, where it empties itſelf into the Dniepr.—Auſtria took the whole of the left bank of the Viſtula, from the ſalt mines as far as the mouth of the Virotz, the palatinate of Beltch, Red-Ruſſia, and the greater part of Volhynia.—Frederic took poſſeſſion of Elbing and the whole of poliſh Pruſſia, excepting the cities of Dantzik and Thorne, which he took afterwards.

correcting

correcting its defects, they aggravated them so as to render them incurable.

After conferences prolonged by repeated delays, a new diet was assembled, in which the ministers of the three courts proposed their plan of reform. The diet was more tumultuous and more untractable than the preceding; and, in spite of the influence of the russian minister, who caused his secretary to read the new project of the constitution, this project was at first rejected. It is too curious for us not to introduce here the bases of it, as well as the preamble of the captious memorial which the ministers of the three courts presented at the same time:

"The courts are so strongly interested in the pacification of "Poland, that while the business is in hand of preparing the "treaties for being signed and ratified, their ministers think "that not an instant should be lost of that inestimable inter-"val, for restoring order and tranquillity to that kingdom. "We shall now therefore communicate to the commission, a "part of those fundamental laws, to the acceptance whereof "our courts will not permit any obstacle or delay.

"1. The crown of Poland shall be elective *for ever*, and "all order of succession shall remain prohibited. Any "person who shall attempt to infringe this law, shall be de-"clared an enemy of the country, and prosecuted as "such.

"2. Foreigners who aspire to the throne, occasioning "most frequently divisions and troubles, shall henceforward "be excluded, and a law shall be passed, that in future none "but

"but a Pole by parentage, born a gentleman, ſhall be
"capable of being elected king of Poland and grand duke
"of Lithuania. The ſon or grandſon of a king ſhall not be
"eligible immediately after the death of his father, or of his
"grandfather; and he ſhall not be ſo till after the interval
"of two reigns.

"3. The government of Poland ſhall be, and ſhall
"continue for ever a free and independent government, and
"of the republican form.

"4. The true principles of that government conſiſting in
"an exact obſervance of the laws, and in the equilibrium of
"the three orders, viz. the king, the ſenate, and the
"nobility, a permanent council ſhall be eſtabliſhed to which
"ſhall be attributed the executive power. Into this council
"ſhall be admitted perſons of the rank of nobility, who have
"been hitherto excluded from the adminiſtration of affairs,
"in the interval of the diets," &c.

By theſe laws the houſe of Saxony and other foreign princes, who might have preſerved the integrity of the remnant of Poland, were excluded from the throne, the liberum veto, with the other dangerous privileges of the nobility, confirmed, and all the diſorders perpetuated.

Stackelberg was ſtill ambaſſador from Catharine at Warſaw*. More pliant than Repnin, he

* It is well known that of all the Poles, the king was him for whom Stackelberg had the leaſt reſpect. Whenever he was in company with that prince, he uſed to place himſelf without ceremony before him, with his back to the fire, and holding up the ſkirts of his coat.—The king one day paid a viſit

he was neither lefs haughty nor lefs addicted to intrigue. By dexterity and corruption he gained over the majority of the deputies, and the diet approved of the new form of government. It feemed proper now that this pernicious plan of government, eftablifhed by Ruffia, Auftria, and Pruffia, fhould be maintained and upheld by thofe powers: but they delayed not to take advantage of its defects to bring it to total deftruction.

It will be difficult for pofterity to know which moft to admire, the great power of Ruffia, or the magnificence of its emprefs, when they are informed, that in the courfe of fo long, fo expenfive, and fo widely extended a war, her expences, whether in rewards to her generals and officers, in prefents to learned men, in the encouragement of arts, or in the purchafe of libraries, ftatues, pictures, antiques, and jewels, infinitely exceed thofe of any late or prefent european prince except Lewis XIV. Among many inftances of this nature which might be given, a diamond of

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vifit to Stackelberg. He was dealing the cards at the game of pharao, and without quitting his play, he fat ftill and fhewed the king a chair, making a fign to him to fit down. Every perfon at Warfaw was plainly convinced that the ruffian minifter was the real king in that capital.

an enormous ſize which ſhe purchaſed this year may be ſufficient. This diamond, which weighs 779 carats, was brought ſome years before by a greek gentleman from Iſpahan to Holland, and depoſited for ſecurity in the bank, till he could meet with a purchaſer: the greatneſs of the price would have made this difficult, if the empreſs of Ruſſia had not exiſted. She paid upwards of 100,000l. ſterling for it, beſides ſettling a penſion for life, of 4000 rubles, upon the gentleman, which amounts to little leſs than 1000l. ſterling a year.

While Catharine was acquiring by negotiations a part of the provinces of Poland, her armies continued to ravage the frontiers of Turkey. Fortune however was not always favourable to her. Fourteen thouſand Ruſſians, in attempting to paſs the Danube, were ſurpriſed * by Dagheſtan-Ali, paſha, and 600 of them remained priſoners with the Turks. Prince Repnin was of that number. He was conveyed to Conſtantinople, and ſhut up in the caſtle of ſeven towers.

Marſhal Romantzoff croſſed the Danube, and marched direct to Siliſtria. Fourſcore thouſand Turks were encamped on the adjacent heights.

* At Giurgevo.

General

General Veiſſmann attacked them: they ſhut themſelves up in the town. Romantzoff marched up to it the following day. The grand vizir had already detached from his army 50,000 men for the purpoſe of relieving Siliſtria. Romantzoff effected his retreat during the night; but he was haraſſed by the Turks, who killed a great number of his people. Obliged to repaſs the Danube, that general went and encamped near Yablonitch, in Valachia.

The grand vizir occupied the left bank of the Danube. A detachment of his army defeated a conſiderable body of Ruſſians at Roſkana. Theſe ſeparate battles often turned out to the advantage of the Ottomans.

Diſcontented at perceiving that her armies had not lately been gaining new victories, Catharine ſent diſpatches to marſhal Romantzoff, deſiring to be informed why he did not give battle. The general returned for anſwer, that it was becauſe the grand vizir had three times more people than he, and might eaſily find his advantage in ſuch an event.—Catharine wrote immediately in reply, "The Romans "never aſked after the number of their enemies, "but where they were, in order to fight "them."

1774. Muſtapha III. now died, and Abdul-Ahmet *, his brother, acceded to the throne of Conſtantinople. The latter years of the reign of Muſtapha had been marked by ſanguinary diſaſters. His ſucceſſor attempted to reſtore

* Catharine herſelf has drawn the portrait of theſe two princes and their ſiſters in not very flattering colours.— "No foreign miniſter ever ſees the ſultan except in public "audiences. Muſtapha underſtands no language but the "turkiſh; and it is doubtful whether he can read and write. "This prince is of a ferocious and ſanguinary diſpoſition. "It is ſaid that he is born with talents: that may be; but "I will diſpute with him on the ſcore of prudence; he has "ſhewn none during this war.—His brother is leſs imprudent "than him; he is a bigot. He adviſed him againſt the "war; and I cannot think that he will be ſent any "where with a command.—But what perhaps will make "you laugh, is, that theſe two princes had a ſiſter, who "was the terror of all the paſhas. She was, before the "war, upwards of 60 years of age. She had been married "15 times, and when ſhe was without a huſband, the "ſultan, who was very fond of her, gave her the choice "of all the paſhas of his empire. Now, when a paſha "marries a princeſs of the imperial family, he is obliged "to diſmiſs his whole harem. This ſultana, beſides her "age, was malicious, jealous, capricious, and intriguing. "Her intereſt with her brother was without bounds, and "frequently the paſhas whom ſhe married were without "heads; which was a circumſtance not at all entertaining "to them: but the fact is not the leſs true for that."

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the ottoman empire to its priſtine ſplendor. He made immenſe preparations for opening the approaching campaign. The turkiſh armies were augmented by freſh levies, to the number of 400,000 fighting men.

Marſhal Romantzoff alſo received great reinforcements. He reſolved again to croſs the Danube, and attack the Turks. The latter diſputed his paſſage with ſignal valour: but their efforts were ineffectual. General Soltikoff * was the firſt who reached the oppoſite ſhore. Souvaroff and Kamenſkoï followed cloſe at his heels. The Turks were repulſed. Romantzoff was ſoon after encamped at the gates of Siliſtria.

Not many days after, the Turks attacked Soltikoff. They were 25,000 ſtrong, and fought a long time with the greateſt intrepidity: but they were at length obliged to ſubmit to the ſuperior ſkill and bravery of the Ruſſians.

The ſame day Kamenſkoï and Souvaroff gained an advantage over the reïs effendi, who was at the head of 40,000 Turks, and took away with them his artillery.

All theſe diſaſters were greatly diſtreſſing to the Ottomans; as a ſpirit of inſubordination and revolt is uſually, with them, the conſequence of

* Since become field-marſhal.

 a defeat.

a defeat. The troops of the army of the grand vizir were either engaged in bloody contests among themselves, or deserting by whole detachments. That general was encamped at Shumala, where he was at a great distance from the other bodies of the turkish army. Romantzoff, who remarked the disadvantage of that position, so opportunely surrounded the camp of the vizir, that he cut off his communication not only with the detached corps, but also with his magazines. The vizir, unable therefore to receive any succours, or to retire, or to stand a battle, determined to sue for peace.

The plenipotentiaries met accordingly at Kutshuk-Kainardshi, in Bulgaria. The Russians persisted in the demands they had made at the last congress. The Turks agreed to them; and the preliminaries of the treaty were signed * by marshal Romantzoff, and the kiaya of the grand vizir †. By this treaty Russia obtained the free navigation of the Euxine, and in all the ottoman seas, together with the passage of the Dardanelles; on condition, however, that she

* About the month of July.

† In order to avoid appearing again in the presence of his conqueror, the haughty Mussum-Oglou feigned a sickness.

should

ſhould never have more than one armed veſſel in the ſeas of Conſtantinople. Retaining Azoff, Taganrog, Kiertſh, and Kinburn, ſhe reſtored the reſt of her conqueſts. The independence of the Krimea * was one of the principal clauſes of the

* The peninſula of the Krimea, or Krim, antiently called the Taurica Cherſoneſus, is ſurrounded on all ſides by the Euxine and the Palus Mæotis, except where it is joined to the continent of the leſſer Tartary by a narrow iſthmus, ſomething leſs than five engliſh miles in breadth. This iſthmus has received its name from the antient city of Perekop, which is built at its entrance on the ſide of the peninſula, and has been celebrated for the ſtrong lines made for its defence by the Turks, which extend quite acroſs from the Euxine to the Palus Mæotis, and were the labour of 5000 men for a courſe of ſeveral years. The Tartars conſidered theſe lines as inexpugnable, until the famous count Munich convinced them of their error in the year 1736, when he forced them without much difficulty. This muſt however in a great meaſure be attributed to the badneſs of the defence, as the ditch was 72 feet broad, and 42 deep: the height from the bottom of the ditch to the creſt of the parapet was 70 feet, and the parapet of a proportional thickneſs. The lines were alſo at that time, beſides the fortifications of the city, ſtrengthened with ſix towers mounted with cannon, and the whole was defended by an army. The peninſula lies between 33 and 37 degrees of eaſtern longitude, and between 44 and 46 degrees of northern latitude; is naturally fertile, and was, at firſt, under the government of the Greeks, and afterwards in the hands of the Genoeſe and

the treaty, and that which was most severely felt by the Turks. Certainly they were very far from perceiving the policy of Catharine in its full extent; but they seemed to foresee that she was only desirous of obtaining the independance of the Krim, as thereby she might be the better enabled to bring it into subjection. Besides these concessions, Catharine obtained from the Porte, that tract of land lying on the Euxine between the Bog and the Dniepr, a large sum of

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and other italian nations; a place of great trade, and filled with populous towns and cities. The Tartars of the Krim were a free people, governed by khans of their own election, acknowledging the grand sultan as khalif; only in regard to religion, without any influence on the rest of the government. Europe therefore saw in the list of her states a new sovereign prince, Sahin Gueray, a mohammedan, and a descendant of the mongole conqueror Tschinghis khan. He resided at Bachtsheseray. Russia would now no longer be necessitated to defend its borders, by the usual expensive lines, against these Tartars, or even to continue the old tribute-like presents. On the contrary, she was now become a friendly and protecting neighbour, (just as she was towards Poland,) and in order the more effectually to do this, she altered the form of government, dissolved the relationship between the Krim and the Porte, and granted the Tartars the freedom of election, with several other privileges to the detriment of their khans.

money

money to defray the expences of the war, and the title of padiſhah, or empreſs, to be no longer refuſed to the ruſſian monarch.

Catharine had thus the twofold advantage of increaſing her power and of weakening her enemy. The commerce of the Euxine and the mart of the Levant opened to her a ſource of immenſe riches. The protection which ſhe granted the Tartars, furniſhed her with the means of dividing them, and of conquering their country. The acquiſition of the poliſh Ukraine put her in a capacity of more eaſily carrying on a war in the regions of the Danube, of overawing the ottoman empire, and of completing the ruin of Poland. The eſtabliſhment of diſcipline among the koſaks added to her armies an excellent cavalry. The good underſtanding which ſhe kept up in the iſlands of the Archipelago, and in Valachia and Moldavia, became a never-ceaſing ſource of diſquiet and annoyance to the Turks. In a word, the empreſs beheld her influence and her glory extending throughout Europe.

But while ſhe was in the enjoyment of a condition ſo proſperous without, deep and cruel wounds were conſuming the interior of her empire. Her finances were in a dilapidated ſtate. She received no ſuccours from England,

 but

but by granting immenſe advantages to their commerce. The peſtilence had made dreadful ravages at Moſco and in the adjacent countries. That horrible diſeaſe had long been devouring the ruſſian armies; and the fleet of the Archipelago was not exempted from its fury. The provinces of Kaſan, Aſtrakhan, and Orenburg, were a prey to revolt, which even threatened Moſco; and a remarkable emigration * changed countries that were flouriſhing with commerce into waſte and deſerted tracts. All theſe calamities at once explain to us likewiſe how it happened that, during the war againſt the Turks, the ruſſian forces did not every year diſplay equal activity, and were not attended with equal ſucceſs.

But this emigration is of conſequence ſufficient to detain us a while. The aſiatic territory of this enormous empire preſents far other ſcenes than thoſe which the inhabitants of Europe are accuſtomed to ſurvey; and as Ruſſia in a manner connects both quarters of the world in the completeſt contraſt, ſo we behold it one while as a political exemplar of civilized human nature,

* This emigration took place towards the cloſe of 1770 and the beginning of 1771. Yet the mention of it was deferred, in order that it might not interrupt the account of the progreſs of the war.

but

but at other times involved in ſituations which appear quite ſtrange to us, and ſuch as we only know from the hiſtory of the fourth and fifth centuries. Thus, in the year 1771, an emigration took place, by which a very conſiderable number of ſubjects were loſt to the empire.—Of the Kalmuks or Œlœts *, brethren of like race with the Mongoles, ſeveral branches are in ſubjection to the ruſſian empire. Their original abode, if we may uſe ſuch an expreſſion in ſpeaking of nomadic hordes, is the Kalmuckia: lying weſtward toward the proper Mongolia, and in the north and eaſt of the leſſer Bukharia. At the latter end of the laſt century, two tribes of them, the Torgot and Derbet, drew up in the ſteppe on the Volga above Aſtrakhan. Till very modern times, they remained however only as protected neighbours, and were tolerably independent on the government. But in 1757 the vice-khan Dondudidaſchi, contrary to the eſtabliſhed cuſtom of all the khans to receive their appointment from the dalailama in Tibet, thought fit, though they are of the lama religion, to apply to Ruſſia for the nomination of his ſon as his ſucceſſor. At Peterſburg the requeſt was granted with great ſatisfaction, which perhaps

* Improperly, Eleuts.

would

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARAS

would not have been the caſe on an application to Tibet: the father was conſtituted actual khan; and the ſon, only 13 years old, without heſitation declared ſucceſſor, with an allowance of 500 rubles *per ann.* and inſtalled with the uſual ſolemnities. On the death of the father in 1761, Ruſſia thought ſhe had a right to meddle in the affairs of the young ſovereign: inſtead of the accuſtomed council of eight ſaiſſans, it was made to conſiſt of a larger number, whom the court eaſily retained by paying each of the members a ſalary of 100 rubles. The friendly protection was thus (as has happened in various other caſes) changed into an actual ſovereignty. In conſequence of freſh regulations, the khan loſt his former unlimited authority, and became nothing more than the preſident of his council; nor had he any longer the right to diſmiſs this council; he could only complain to the imperial college of Ruſſia; and he was taught to eſteem it advantage enough that the ſovereign tribunal ſtood open to his appeal. In all other reſpects theſe Kalmuks retained their religion and their manners: they roamed about the ſteppe, had an averſion to permanent dwellings, and lived on the produce of their flocks and herds. Theſe conſiſted in ſheep, camels, and principally in horſes; the whole nation was armed and mounted;

and

and their favourite drink, like that of all theſe tartar tribes, was a ſpirituous extract of mares milk, called in their language koumiſh. The paſture of theſe horſes requires this roving life; as a father of a family may poſſeſs from 100 to 1000, and ſome of them even 4000 heads. Many of them were in good circumſtances, and very reſpectable people; kind, generous, and hoſpitable: this laſt quality they poſſeſs in an eminent degree, and ſhew it to every one who peaceably enters their tents. But they are quite the reverſe to ſuch as attack them as foes, eſpecially to nations whom they acknowledge not as brothers. Accordingly, Ruſſia employed them in hoſts in the pruſſian war; and Germany ſtill recollects with horror the aſiatic ſavages that were let looſe upon her without regard to morals and the rights of humanity. In the turkiſh war they likewiſe fought for Ruſſia in the diſtrict of the Kuban. Such was the ſituation of them till the year 1770.

In the mean time great heart-burnings had long ſubſiſted among the moſt conſiderable of them on account of the innovations introduced by the Ruſſians. The circumſcription of their primitive liberty, the reducing their khan to a ſtate of dependence, the intermeddling of a foreign nation in their conſtitution and laws,

which

which begot diſſentions and diſobedience in the horde, the injuries (real or imaginary) which ſome princes had received from ruſſian officers: all this awakened an irreſtible hankering after their former condition; and as it was not to be hoped for where they were, no choice was left, but they muſt ſeek it in their ancient plains where their anceſtors knew of no Europeans. Juſt at this time the governor of Aſtrakhan appointed a lieutenant named Kiſchenſkoï, as inſpector of theſe peaceful Kalmuks. Kiſchenſkoï, a man of inſatiable rapacity, by inſenſible degrees got poſſeſſion of a great part of their cattle, and ſold them to his own benefit. His exactions ſoon procured him an immenſe fortune. But his avarice, far from diminiſhing, ſeemed rather to increaſe with the means of its gratification.

One of their princes, a venerable old man, who had ſhed his blood in the ſervice of Ruſſia, in recompence for which the empreſs had given him her miniature portrait ſet round with brilliants, and which he wore ſuſpended to his neck, was one day applied to by Kiſchenſkoï for ſome preſents in addition to thoſe which he had already given him. The old man, irritated at his inſolence, could not refrain from breaking out into reproaches on his injuſtice and the vexations he employed to the ruin of the unhappy Kalmuks.

Kiſchenſkoï,

Kischenskoï, offended at the truth of these reproaches, had the temerity to strike him on the face, and having at the same time ordered one of the saissans, the minister of the khan, who interposed in his behalf, to be seized by his soldiers, ordered him the punishment of the battogues *.

The Kalmuks had, if not patiently, at least quietly, suffered the rapacity and peculations of the russian officer; but they could not endure the insult that had been put upon this venerable old man, who stood in great respect among them. The priests and the elders of the horde having held a consultation, resolved to abandon the territory of the russian empire, and retire to the foot of the mountains of Tibet, the country of their progenitors. The common people were easily persuaded; especially as they were told that the russian regulations were introduced for

* Battogues—a sort of punishment used in Russia for inferior offences. The sufferer is laid on his face upon the ground, stripped to his waist, and the arms and legs extended. Two men, one of whom sits on his neck, and the other on his legs, beat him alternately on the back with the battogues, which are rods of the thickness of the little finger. Persons having any authority over others may inflict this punishment upon them without any form of trial or legal process. Nobles and peasants are equally liable to it, when it is ordered by superiors.

no other purpoſe than to compel them to the three things which they moſt abhorred: chriſtianity, agriculture, and the raiſing recruits. A little prieſtcraft was alſo had recourſe to on this occaſion. The noyons or princes ſet up a lama, whom they raiſed in a moment to be the immortal archprieſt or dalailama, in the following manner: It was propagated abroad, that a famous kalmuk prieſt, who had died three years before, had now appeared again alive, and had iſſued a proclamation to the people, that he was riſen from the dead at Tibet, in the reſidence of the great dalailama; of all which a written teſtimony was brought from the immortal high prieſt; in which it was declared, that being now become a being of a ſuperior order, he foreknew the fates and fortunes of the nation, and required them, in the name of their gods, to return, and again take poſſeſſion of their ancient territory. This happened towards the cloſe of the year 1770, juſt when they thought it the proper moment for the grand rupture; otherwiſe they would have ſuffered the lama to have ſlept quietly in his grave for a longer or a ſhorter time.

It was an unpardonable neglect in the commanding officer in thoſe parts not to put a ſtop to the proceedings of the horde, ſo as to prevent the emigration, as their intention was publicly known

known in thoſe parts. He even ſuffered himſelf to be duped by the Kalmuks, to whom, on their forging ſome pretext of apprehenſion from the Kirguiſes, their neighbours, he gave two pieces of cannon, with ammunition and ſome engineers. Accordingly, in the autumn, they began their march: a prodigious troop, with wives, children, and ſervants, having their droves, horſes, flocks, goods, huts, and tents. The captain under the command of the khan was forced to migrate with them at the head of his koſaks. The march was conducted regularly enough, in three troops, who conſtantly kept in ſight; the flanks of each were particularly covered, and beſides this they had a van and a rear guard. At the beginning they plundered the fiſheries and the trading houſes on the borders of the Volga and the Caſpian. But, on their progreſs into the ſouthern Siberia, they came upon the Koſaks of the Yaïk, who ſtopped and purſued the flying horde, cut thouſands of them to pieces, and forced thouſands to return. In the ſpring 1771, they were attacked by the Kirguiſes their inveterate enemies, and, after a bloody engagement, took many of them priſoners. In the ſummer they proceeded through the antient Mongolia to the chineſe borders; where an army of

of the Mandſhu * received them, and afforded them protection.

The ſecret of their flight was ſo well kept, that it was not known to the Ruſſians till two days after their departure. Three regiments were ſent in purſuit of them to no purpoſe. The Kalmuks were more in haſte than they; and, beſides, they were two days before them. Theſe regiments wandered a long time in the deſarts, and a conſiderable part of the ſoldiers periſhed.

When the news of the emigration was brought to St. Peterſburg, a corps of troops were ordered by the court to go in queſt of them. But, if the former purſuits were too late, it was not likely that theſe ſhould come up with them: the lamentable particulars of this expedition may be read in captain Rytſchkoff's journal; where it may be ſeen what difficulties and hardſhips theſe indefatigable purſuers of the fugitive horde encountered, in their devious marches on this unavailing expedition, and what variety of diſtreſſes they ſuffered in the dreary, inhoſpitable regions and waterleſs deſarts through which they paſſed. At length nothing farther was to be

* The preſent emperor of China.

done

done but to make application by a written memorial to China, to demand the reſtitution of the runaways. But the ſupreme tribunal at Pekin anſwered the reſcript of the ruſſian ſenate abruptly, in a ſcornful and deriſory manner, and concluded by ſaying, that "their ſovereign "was not a prince ſo unjuſt as to deliver up his "ſubjects to foreigners, nor ſo cruel a father as "to drive away children who returned to the "boſom of their family. That he had no intimation of the deſign of the Kalmuks till the "moment of their arrival; and that then without delay he cauſed to be reſtored to them the "habitations that had belonged to them from "time immemorial. That, in ſhort, the empreſs "had no reaſon to complain of the Kalmuks, "but certainly of the officer who had dared to "lift his hand againſt a ſervant of the khans, "and to order their miniſters to undergo the "battogues." The letter was thus ſubſcribed: "In the 36th year, the 7th month, and the 13th "day of the reign of Kien-Long." On various occaſions Catharine frequently received from theſe her neighbours anſwers in a ſtyle which muſt have ſtruck her the more ſenſibly, as ſhe was accuſtomed to hear from all the other monarchs in the world a very different language. On her applying for a freſh treaty for the renewal of the

commerce with China by the caravans, which for ſeveral years had been interrupted, on account of ſome differences that had ariſen between the ſubjects of the two potentates, the anſwer given to her envoy was:—"Let your miſtreſs learn to "keep old treaties; and then it will be time "enough to apply for new ones." Accordingly we ſee, from her private communications * how ſenſible ſhe was upon this ſubject; and ſhe could ſcarcely endure to hear any praiſe, even jeſtingly, beſtowed on the emperor of China, who was otherwiſe known as an author and poet.

Concerning the number of perſons loſt to Ruſſia by this emigration accounts do not agree. Some ſtate it at 130,000 families; which is certainly exaggerated. More accurate ſtatements ſay, that the horde in general conſiſted of not much above 70,000 tents, or hearths, or families. Thoſe who voluntarily returned, (for doubtleſs many of them, on the fatiguing and painful expedition over the deſarts, panted after the more quiet abode on the Volga, and turned back,) and thoſe who were brought in by the Koſaks, are reckoned together at 12,342 tents. Thoſe that eſcaped therefore, eſtimating them at

* For example, in her correſpondence with Voltaire.

the higheſt, were 60,000 hearths. But how great the number of the individuals that died upon the road, and of thoſe who were carried into captivity by the Kirguiſes, can never be known.

A council of war was held to examine into the conduct of lieutenant-colonel Kiſchenſkoï, and to pronounce upon it. But the buſineſs was conducted with negligence and every poſſible delay. Kiſchenſkoï employed a part of the fruit of his rapine in procuring himſelf friends at court, or in corrupting his judges: and to the great ſcandal of the majority of the Ruſſians, this man, who had occaſioned the loſs of ſuch a number of ſubjects to the country, was recompenſed by the title of colonel.

Amidſt the grand concerns by which it was occupied, the court of Peterſburg betrayed no neglect of its little intrigues. Attentive as ſhe was to the buſineſs of government, Catharine did not bid adieu to pleaſures. She went frequently from the council to the ball-room and the theatre, and from the important ſittings of the ſenate to the moſt frivolous amuſements. She gave audience to the ambaſſadors of foreign powers, without having need of any other dreſs than that ſhe wore for receiving her courtiers;

and ſhe dictated a law with the ſame facility as ſhe wrote a billet. Eaſy in her new attachments, ſhe never ſpoke of thoſe that had gone before. Panin, Chernicheff, and Baratinſky applauded their own operations.

But what gave them the moſt ſatisfaction was the removal of prince Orloff. For nearly five months he had been travelling in foreign parts; and his enemies pleaſed themſelves with the thought that he was to continue his travels for at leaſt two years. The emiſſaries who watched his ſteps wrote them frequent accounts of his proceedings. He was thought to be in Holland: it was imagined that he intended to make the tour of England, France, and Italy. All at once he re-appeared at the court of Peterſburg. The empreſs refuſed to admit him into her preſence. She ſent orders to him to repair to Reval. But ſhe at the ſame time ſent him conſiderable preſents, and loaded with honours and careſſes the more intimate friends of her diſcarded favourite.

What then could be the motive to ſuch a ſingular conduct? Catharine had no longer any regard for Orloff. She no longer ſtood in awe of him. But ſhe dreaded, ſhe hated a faction ſhe conceived might be forming under the auſpices

auſpices of a name* dear to the empire, and formidable to Orloff. She was deſirous of oppoſing the party of her former favourite to this faction, and of procuring the ſupport of a man by whom ſhe had already been ſo well defended. Triumphant over her enemies, the admiration of Europe, idolized by her courtiers, that princeſs was nevertheleſs often a prey to the moſt pungent diſquietudes: but ſhe concealed them. She dreaded the thought of being hurled from the throne; and ſhe was forming the project of aggrandizing her dominions ſtill farther. She was trembling for her life: and ſhe diſcourſed with gaiety of the long career ſhe was in hopes to run. One day ſhe found a paper in her cabinet, in which mention was made of a threatened aſſaſſination: never did ſhe ſhew herſelf more confident and more ſedate.

Ambitious of all kinds of glory, ſhe could at all times put any conſtraint on herſelf to obtain it. Whatever were her ſentiments, ſhe had always the appearance of gentleneſs, ſincerity, clemency, and generoſity. The blood of the wretched Ivan was yet reeking from the ground: Catharine was moved at the unhappy lot of his family; and knowing that ſhe had no longer any thing to fear from the duke, Catharine

* That of the grand duke.

offered him his liberty, with the means of retiring to Germany. The prince refused. "Why "should I go," answered he, "out of the russian "empire, to publish the excess of my miseries, "and to excite a fruitless compassion * ?"

Vassiltschikoff had now a long time filled the place of favourite. Never abusing his influence either for accumulating immense riches to himself, or for hurting his rivals, he excited no envy. The empress would frequently praise his moderation; and that quality, so uncommon in a courtier, seemed to render him more dear to her from day to day. But on a sudden he had lost the art of pleasing; and at the very instant when he had just been receiving additional tokens of her tenderness, an order was brought him to repair to Mosco. He obeyed. Fresh presents from the sovereign attended him on the road. But it was only a remuneration of form: the heart had no share in it whatever †.

* The account of the farther circumstances that attended this family may be seen by turning back to p. 40. of the present volume, where the part of the history concerning them was somewhat anticipated, for the sake of keeping the individuals of the family together in one view.

† Vassiltschikoff continued in favour 22 months. It will hereafter be mentioned to what the presents amounted which Catharine made to him, as well as to her other favourites.

Whether it was that Orloff had been ſecretly recalled from Reval, or whether he found his ſtay in that city inſupportable, he now came back, and made his appearance at court. The empreſs threw no cenſures on his behaviour. She received him, on the contrary, with an appearance of joy. Proud of this reception and of the remembrance of his paſt favour, depending ſtill on the ſubmiſſion of his creatures, who were in great numbers, he thought himſelf able to reſume his honours and his influence. While he was in the full enjoyment of them, he often ſeemed to diſdain them. No ſooner was he deprived of them than he felt them to be neceſſary to him. Orloff, born in obſcurity, and brought up in the licentiouſneſs of the barracks, had found himſelf raiſed on a ſudden to a point of elevation, which, by ſwelling his natural pride, had neither altered his taſte, nor poliſhed his manners. Eleven years paſſed about the perſon of the empreſs, in the refinements of luxury and voluptuouſneſs, withheld him not from braving the inclemency of the ſeaſons, nor from expoſing himſelf to the ſevereſt fatigues, nor from the purſuit of the coarſeſt indulgences. Since his diſmiſſal from the poſt of favourite, he remained in poſſeſſion of an annual revenue of 250,000 rubles, and of valuables to the amount of

300,000; inſtead of maintaining a houſehold with grandeur and magnificence, he led the life of an officer in garriſon. In a condition to keep a table delicately ſerved and ſupplied, he ate almoſt always with the commenſals of the court, who kept very ordinary cheer. He was not more choice in his amours. It was indifferent to him, whether he breathed out his flame to an ugly and ſqualid Finn, to a ſavage Kalmuk, or to the handſomeſt woman of Peterſburg.

Jealous of the authority enjoyed by his rivals, and contemplating with envy the throne on which he had long flattered himſelf with the expectation of ſitting, Orloff demanded to be re-eſtabliſhed in the exerciſe of his functions, and that he whom he accuſed of being the prime mover of his diſgrace, count Panin, ſhould be ſent into exile. Orloff ſeemed at that moment to have regained his aſcendant over the heart of Catharine. She appeared in his ſight with all the fondneſs that the tendereſt paſſion could inſpire, and made not the leaſt heſitation in reſtoring him to all his employments. Her majeſty, however, refuſed to conſent to the baniſhment of Panin; and the prince was obliged to be ſatisfied with obtaining her promiſe to remove him from court, as ſoon as the grand duke ſhould be married.

Panin

Panin was deeply chagrined at feeing Orloff reinftated in his employments. But he had no one to blame for it but himfelf, fince he had taken no meafures to prevent it. Happy in the fortune and the confequence which he enjoyed, living in indolence in the midft of affairs, and feeking a retreat in the tumult of the court, it was only in fudden fits of refentment that he took any pains to injure his rivals; and, though of greater ability than they, he had often the mortification to fee them victorious.

"Count Panin is a good creature," faid a courtier who had long ftudied his character. "He is fond of nothing but eafe and fullennefs. "Any one may be his friend by pretending to "laugh at his bons mots, and by furnifhing him "with an opportunity for exercifing his talent for "flander. He himfelf, on fuch occafions, will "laugh with all his heart; and he forgets the "affairs of government, the difpatches, the cou-"riers, and the intrigues that are formed againft "him."

Catharine had for fome time been meditating a marriage for the grand duke; but as that prince feemed to be of a weak habit, and a cold conftitution, fhe feared left he might be little difpofed to give heirs to the empire. Her confidants foon found the means for difpelling her fears. They engaged a young polifh lady, a maid

maid of honour to the empreſs *, to make an attempt with her charms on the heart of the prince. Mademoiſelle Sophia conſented; and ſhe bore him a ſon, who received at the font the name of Simeon Velikoï †.

From that time the empreſs bent her thoughts to the choice of a fit conſort for the grand duke. In this, however, ſhe found herſelf ſomewhat embarraſſed. She wiſhed not for a princeſs who might probably become her rival, and who, profiting by her example, was capable of forming attempts on her throne and her life. She was rather in ſearch of one who had neither the faculties nor the deſire of rendering herſelf formidable. The empreſs at length fixed her views on the daughters of the landgrave of Heſſe-Darmſtadt. Theſe princeſſes were three ſiſters. Catharine invited their mother to accompany them to her court. How contrary ſoever to long-eſtabliſhed cuſtom as this propoſal might

* This young lady was afterwards married to a noble count, who was living in France in 1788.

† Simeon Velikoï was of a gentle and modeſt diſpoſition, and great care had been taken with his education. Entered, at an early period, in the navy, he ſerved during the ſwediſh war under that deſerving engliſh officer, captain Trevenen, in the capacity of lieutenant of a man of war, then being one of the 12 officers ſent by the empreſs to learn the art of navigation in England: he acted as a volunteer in the engliſh navy, and died in the Weſt Indies in 1797.

appear,

appear, the landgravine of Heſſe-Darmſtadt accepted it without heſitation. That princeſs was ambitious; and therefore ſhe liſtened only to the hope of placing one of her daughters on the throne of Ruſſia: ſhe ſet out for Peterſburg. The empreſs received her with magnificence, and loaded her with preſents *. After having had time to form a judgment of the three young princeſſes, Catharine choſe for the ſpouſe of the grand duke the princeſs Wilhelmina, who embraced the greek orthodox ſyſtem of faith †, and was joined in wedlock to the heir of the tzars.

Prince Orloff and his party were in hopes that this marriage would be preſently followed by the diſgrace of Panin. Orders were ſent him to leave the apartments which he occupied in the palace in quality of governor of Paul Petrovitch. His friends took the alarm. The courtiers became ſhy of him. He imagined himſelf undone: but his pupil had the generoſity to oppoſe himſelf to the ſtorm; and haſtening to his mother, repreſented to her, that Panin had been always a faithful ſervant of the empire, and that it would be too cruel an act to diſmiſs him from the court, at the very moment when

* She even inſiſted that the landgrave ſhould permit her to defray the whole expence of her journey thither.

† She took the name of Natalia Alexievna.

he had the greateſt right to expect ſubſtantial rewards. This procedure wrought a change in the mind of the empreſs. Inſtead of retaining her reſolution of ſending an order to Panin to retire from the court, ſhe wrote to him a letter full of teſtimonies of affection; and, thanking him for the care he had beſtowed on the education of the grand duke, ſhe confirmed him in the appointment of miniſter of foreign affairs.

Thoſe who were unacquainted with the motives by which the empreſs had been ſwayed in determining to retain count Panin, found an inexplicable contradiction in her conduct. Orloff had the preſumption to reproach her with it: but ſhe did not vouchſafe to inform him better. Unwilling that this favourite ſhould know that a mother had yielded to the ſolicitations of her ſon, ſhe told him that it behoved him to ſacrifice the ſatisfaction of removing a miniſter who failed of pleaſing, to the neceſſity there was for his ſervice. Always ingenious in diſguiſing her ſentiments, Catharine made no ſcruple of deceiving the favourite, who fancied he engroſſed the whole of her confidence. Though ſhe ſeemed to have reſtored him her former tenderneſs, yet ſhe ſecretly cheriſhed in her heart a paſſion which ſpeedily broke out. She felt ſome inclination

clination to dismiss Orloff a second time: but she prudently kept terms with him still.

Of the learned and literary men with whom Catharine kept up a regular correspondence, Voltaire and Diderot were those whom she most distinguished. She invited them several times to come and visit her. The philosopher of Ferney had learned by experience the dangers of courts: he would not submit to the temptation of seeing that of Russia. The philosopher of Paris was more open to persuasion. He travelled to St. Petersburg. Catharine lavished on him largesses and encomiums. During the whole time of his stay at her court, she discoursed with him every day at the conclusion of dinner. Philosophy, legislation, politics, were commonly the subject of these conversations. Diderot unfolded his principles on the liberty and the rights of nations with his usual enthusiasm * and eloquence. The empress seemed to be delighted with them; but she was not at all the more disposed to put them in practice.

"Monsieur Diderot," said she, "is a hundred years old in many respects; but in others he is no more than ten."

* The empress made him sit beside her. In his moments of enthusiasm, Diderot has sometimes hit her knee with the back of his hand: she never seemed to take offence at it.

Perhaps her majesty's private opinion was not more in favour of the wisdom of Voltaire; though she never spoke of it but with all the deference that is due to the foremost dispenser of fame. The manner in which she was wont to write to him is well known. We have already cited several fragments of her letters; we shall, nevertheless, transcribe one of them here, as a further proof of the artful disguise she put on before that celebrated author, and how she strove to obtain those flatteries which he so lavishly bestowed upon her.

"...... *Now we are speaking of haughti-
"ness, I have a mind to make my general confes-
"sion to you on that head. I have had great
"successes during this war: that I am glad of it,
"you will very naturally conclude. I said, Russia
"will be well known by this war; it will be
"seen how indefatigable a nation it is; that she
"possesses men of eminent merit, and who have
"all the qualities that go to the forming of
"heroes; it will be seen that she is deficient in
"no resources; but that she can defend herself,
"and prosecute a war with vigour, whenever she
"is unjustly attacked.

* This letter is dated the 22d of July—the 2d of August 1771.

"Brimful

" Brimful of theſe ideas, I have never once " thought of Catharine, who, at the age of " forty-two, can increaſe neither in body nor " mind, but, in the natural order of things, " ought to remain, and will remain, as ſhe is. " Do her affairs go on well? She ſays, ſo " much the better! If they proſpered leſs, ſhe " would employ all her faculties to put them in " the beſt train poſſible.

" This is my ambition, and I have none other; " what I tell you is the truth. I will go farther: " I will tell you that, for the ſparing of human " blood, I ſincerely wiſh for peace. But this " peace is ſtill a long way off, though the Turks, " from different motives, are ardently deſirous " of it. Thoſe people know not how to go " about it.

" I wiſh as much for the pacification of the " unreaſonable contentions of Poland. I have " to do there with brainleſs heads, each of " which, inſtead of contributing to the common " peace, on the contrary throws impediments in " the way of it by caprice and levity. My " ambaſſador has publiſhed a declaration adapted " to open their eyes. But it is to be preſumed, " that they will rather expoſe themſelves to the " laſt extremity, than adopt without delay a wiſe " and conſiſtent rule of conduct. The vortices

" of

"of Descartes never existed any where but in "Poland. There every head is a vortex, turn- "ing continually round itself. It is stopped by "chance alone, and never by reason or judg- "ment.

"I have not yet received either your ques- "tions *, or your watches from Ferney. I "have no doubt that the work of your artificers "is perfect, since they work under your eyes.

"Do not scold your rustics for having sent me "a surplus of watches: the expence of them "will not ruin me. It would be very unfor- "tunate for me, if I were so far reduced as not "to have, for sudden emergencies, such small "sums whenever I want them. Judge not, I "beseech you, of our finances by those of the "other ruined potentates of Europe. Though "we have been engaged in a war for three "years, we proceed in our buildings; and every "thing else goes on as in a time of profound "peace. It is two years since any new impost "has been levied †. The war at present has its

* The "Questions sur l'Encyclopedie."

† With all due deference for her imperial majesty, this does not exactly tally with the augmentation of the capitation tax of 80 kopeeks, which she was obliged to abolish at the peace; any more than with the extraordinary taxes laid on several manufactures, and on all works in iron.

fixed

"fixed eſtabliſhment; that once regulated, "it never diſturbs the courſe of other affairs. "If we capture another Kaffa or two, the war is "paid for.

"I ſhall be ſatisfied with myſelf whenever I "meet with your approbation, monſieur. I "likewiſe a few weeks ago read over again my "inſtructions for the code, becauſe I then "thought peace to be nearer at hand than it is, "and I found that I was right in compoſing "them. I confeſs that this code, for which "a great quantity of materials are preparing, "and many others are now ready, will yet give "me a conſiderable deal of trouble before it is "brought to that degree of perfection at which "I wiſh to ſee it. But no matter: it muſt be "completed, though Taganrok has the ſea to "the ſouth and mountains to the north.

"However, your deſigns upon that place "cannot be brought to effect till a peace ſhall "have ſecured its environs againſt all apprehen-"ſion on the ſide of the land and the ſide of the "ſea; for till the Krimea was taken, it was the "frontier place againſt the Tartars. Perhaps "in a little time the khan of the Krimea will be "brought to me in perſon. I learn this moment "that he did not croſs the ſea with the Turks,

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SAR...

" but that he remained in the mountains with a " very fmall number of followers, nearly as was " the cafe with the pretender in Scotland after " the defeat at Culloden. If he comes to me, " we will ftrive to polifh him this winter; and, " to take my revenge of him, I will make him " dance, and he fhall go to the french co- " medy.......

" Juft as I was about to fold up this letter, I " received yours of the 10th of July, in which " you inform me of the adventure that happened " to my "Inftruction"* in France. I knew " that anecdote, and even the appendix to it, in " confequence of the order of the duc de Choi- " feul. I own that I laughed on reading it in " the news-papers, and I found that I was " amply revenged.

" The conflagration that happened at Peterf- " burg has, according to the report of the police, " confumed in all 140 houfes, among which " about 20 were brick buildings; the reft were " only barracks conftructed of wood. The " high wind wafted the flames and the burning " fplinters on all fides, which occafioned the fire " to break out again the following day, and gave

* Her majefty's inftruction for a code of laws.

" it

"it a ſupernatural appearance. But there is no "doubt that the high wind and the exceſſive heat "were the ſole cauſes of this diſaſter, which "will be ſoon repaired.

"With us buildings are raiſed with greater "celerity than in any other country in Europe. "In 1762 a fire happened of twice the extent, "which conſumed a large quarter of the town, "conſiſting of wooden buildings. The whole "was rebuilt in brick within leſs than three "years."

The ſucceſſes of the turkiſh war begot in the hearts of the nation an enthuſiaſtic love and veneration for their ſovereign; the ſentiments of joy at the humiliation of the oriental pride were univerſal; and it muſt be confeſſed that many truly heroic atchievements in theſe campaigns, both by ſea and land, might well excite the ruſſian patriots to jubilation. To perpetuate the memory of them Catharine cauſed medals to be ſtruck, and columns to be erected.

In the mean time the buildings and embelliſhments of St. Peterſburg proceeded without interruption; and works of really imperial magnificence were brought to effect, which render that city in many reſpects ſuperior to any other. The Neva, the Fontanka, and the Katarina-

canal*, were embanked with granite; and provided with ſpacious quays of the ſame material, and elegant baluſtrades of iron, ſo as to form agreeable walks through the ſeveral quarters of the town. Sumptuous bridges richly ornamented, of hewn granite, were likewiſe conſtructed in various parts acroſs the Moika, the Fontanka, and the ſeveral canals that unite their ſtreams. Palaces and public offices were erected; among them a palace of prodigious magnitude, built entirely of marble of divers colours from Siberia†. If the eye of the ſtranger, dazzled with ſo much brilliance and ſplendour as this reſidence affords, ſees with concern and almoſt with diſguſt, the intervals of wretched huts and dirty lanes; yet the inhabitant recollecting with real ſatisfaction the former condition of moſt of the quarters and ſtreets, feels the more ſenſibly the almoſt magical

* The beautiful ſtream that forms the Neva, branches off into the little Neva, the Nefka, the river Moika, the river Fontanka, into all which fall ſeveral canals, all together forming the large and little iſlands (oſtrofs) on which Peterſburg is built.

† The magnificence of this palace is ſuch, that it never fails to remind the beholder who ſees it for the firſt time, of what he has read in the "Arabian Nights," fairy and genii tales, and the like. The emperor Paul has aſſigned it for the reſidence of the king of Poland, by whom it is now inhabited.

improve-

improvements, and looks forward with complacency at what the whole muſt gradually become. Of the immenſe Ladoga-canal, the banks that were ſupported by timbers are, ſince 1763, faced with ſtone. The many beneficent and public-ſpirited inſtitutions of the empreſs required new buildings, which were conſtantly erected with magnificence and taſte. Nor were her cares confined to the reſidence alone, other cities likewiſe were growing in riches and ſplendour under her forming hand; Moſko, Tver, Toula, Kief, &c. In the neighbourhood of St. Peterſburg aroſe and grew up in 1767, and is ſince in a flouriſhing ſtate, the german colony Saratoſka.

In the midſt of the turkiſh war, Catharine purchaſed in Holland pictures to the amount of 60,000 rubles *; in France for 15,000 rubles, and in Italy a multitude of inimitable curioſities. —That noble act of bounty which ſhe ſhewed to Diderot in 1775, gained her the eſteem of all literary men, in buying his library at a price far above its value, and then appointing him her librarian of it for his life, with a large annual ſtipend.

* The ſhip which had them on board was wrecked on the coaſt of Finland, and the whole collection was loſt.

The expenditure on her court-eſtabliſhment at this time was reckoned at 4,000,000 of rubles annually; the numerous and always imperial preſents to her officers, ſtateſmen, and favourites, not included. Her court, the moſt brilliant in all Europe, was the reſort of male and female beauty; young perſons of talents, grey-headed commanders, able politicians, reſpectable matrons, and a multitude of high nobility, who, by their friendlineſs, affability, hoſpitality, and poliſhed manners, rendered their ſociety extremely agreeable.—Prince Gregory Orloff was no niggard of his wealth. He cauſed to be built, at the diſtance of eight or ten miles from Tzarſko-ſelo, the magnificent palace of Gatſhina; which the empreſs, on his death, purchaſed at a very high price, and made it a preſent to her ſon the grand duke; who, as is well known, always reſided there, and was fond of the place*. About 1774, when Orloff was out of favour, ſome people imagined it was for having preferred his private intereſt to the good of the ſtate: it certainly was not the caſe in that

* In 1780 the grand duke built a palace for himſelf at the diſtance of five verſts from Tzarko-ſelo, which he named Pavlofsk, and furniſhed it with greater taſte than magnificence. However he ſtill retained his liking for Gatſhina.

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inſtance; but it is no leſs true, that ſhe made it a conſtant rule to employ no miniſter of that deſcription. She knew how and when to reward without being ſummoned to it; and never would ſuffer herſelf to be governed by perſonal regards. Even in Orloff's golden days, when he was in the higheſt favour, his influence in ſtate affairs was far from deciſive: Panin oppoſed him; and held his place in defiance of him. Other favourites were of ſtill leſs ſignificance. If afterwards Potemkin, for a continuance of 30 years, could do every thing with Catharine, and at laſt raiſed himſelf to an all-directing ſtateſman; yet it cannot be denied that he had the head, and the courage and energy, which with the gradual unfolding of his talents as he advanced, fitted him for a prime miniſter: though withal, his ambition and love of command were of the rudeſt and moſt dangerous nature.—The princeſs Daſhkoff was not of Orloff's party, but belonged rather to Panin's; after a long abſence in a kind of ſolitude ſhe appeared again at court in 1773, received from the empreſs a preſent of 60,000 rubles, with ſubſequent marks of her favour and the poſt of director of the academy of ſciences. Count Panin united the moſt important places with the empreſs and the tzar-

evitch*; and nothing can be ſaid more to his honour than that he gained the eſteem and affection of them both. The whole public alſo aſcribed to him perfect integrity united with a too great love of eaſe. He directed the foreign affairs, and his voice in the council was of very great weight. As preceptor of the grand duke he was beloved by that prince with a truly filial affection. Few princely families can ſhew an inſtance of greater tenderneſs of heart than one which we know of Paul Petrovitch: in count Panin's laſt illneſs the tears of the imperial youth inceſſantly flowed as he knelt by his bed-ſide, and gratefully kiſſed the hand of his dying maſter. After his death the ſincerity of the prince's grief was manifeſt to the few who then had acceſs to him.

An impartial obſerver who ſaw the empreſs in 1772 and 1773, deſcribes her in the following manner: "She is of that ſtature which is neceſſarily requiſite to perfect elegance of form in a lady. She has fine large blue eyes; her eyebrows and hair are of a browniſh colour; her mouth is well-proportioned, the chin round, the noſe rather long;

* Literally the tzar's ſon; the imperial ſucceſſor. Formerly this was the only ſtyle of the heir apparent. So lately as the time of Peter the great, his ſon was always called tzarevitch.

long; the forehead regular and open, her hands and arms round and white, her complection not entirely clear, and her ſhape rather plump than meagre; her neck and boſom high, and ſhe bears her head with peculiar grace and dignity. She lays on, as is univerſally the cuſtom with the fair ſex in Ruſſia, a pretty ſtrong rouge. She has adopted the uſual habit of the ruſſian ladies as the model of her dreſs, which, by ſome ſlight alterations in it, ſhe has ſo improved, that it is not only very becoming, but may very properly be deemed an elegant mode of attire. She never puts on rich cloaths except on ſolemn feſtivals; when her head and corſet are entirely ſet with brilliants: in grand proceſſions ſhe wears a crown of diamonds and precious ſtones.—Her gait is majeſtic; in the whole of her form and manner there is ſomething ſo dignified and noble, that if ſhe were to be ſeen, without ornament or any outward marks of diſtinction, among a great number of ladies of rank, ſhe would be immediately eſteemed the chief. There is withal in the features of her face and in her looks an uncommon degree of authority and command. In her character there is more of livelineſs than gravity. She is courteous, gentle, beneficent; outwardly devout.

“ Her

"Her ordinary method of life, in which ſhe has almoſt always perſevered, was at that time, this: About ſix o'clock in the morning the empreſs uſually riſes. Frequently, and even in the depth of winter, (nay, in the latter years of her life almoſt commonly,) earlier. She uſes, without calling any one, to prepare her own breakfaſt; as in general ſhe is not fond of being much waited on, and accordingly diſpenſes with all attendance on her perſon as much as poſſible. The buſineſs of her toilet laſts not long; during which ſhe ſigns commiſſions, orders, and papers of various purport. On days when the council does not meet in her apartments, ſhe is buſied alone in the cabinet from eight till eleven of the forenoon; ſhe then uſually goes to chapel, where the ſervice continues till twelve. From this time till one, ſome of the miniſters of the ſeveral departments have acceſs to her. After the table is removed, to which ſhe ſits down at lateſt at about half after one, ſhe goes to work again for an hour or two, according as buſineſs may require; ſhe then walks, rides on horſeback, or goes out in a coach or ſledge; and at ſix her majeſty appears at the play-houſe, where the performances are alternately in french and ruſſian. If the empreſs takes her ſupper in public, (which happens extremely

tremely ſeldom,) it never continues later than half after ten; at other times ſhe retires at ten.

"The only court-day in the whole week, holidays excepted, is ſunday. On this day in the morning, as the empreſs paſſes from chapel to her apartments, ſhe gives the ambaſſadors and foreigners of rank who have been once preſented, her hand to kiſs; likewiſe ſuch perſons as have any petition to preſent or deſire to return thanks for bounties received, are preſented on this day to the empreſs, and kiſs her hand, dropping on one knee.—The court begins not till ſix o'clock in the evening. At the ſame time a ball or concert is uſually given: the empreſs never dances, but ſits down immediately to cards, having previouſly told the chamberlain in waiting whom ſhe will have of her party. In autumn 1772, it was commonly the auſtrian and pruſſian miniſters, and of her own miniſters count Razumoffsky, prince Gallitzin, and the two counts Chernicheff. The empreſs plays at picquet, or ſome other game at which ſhe is not obliged to be conſtantly ſilent. A ſemi-circle is formed round her card-table, which the ladies begin on the left hand, and the privy-counſellors cloſe on the right. When the empreſs has finiſhed her game, ſhe gets up and talks indiſcriminately with the ladies, generals, and miniſters

miniſters that form the circle. At about ten o'clock, and often earlier, ſhe breaks up her party, and then retires unobſerved through a ſide-door. What has been here mentioned, relates only to the winter months, when the court is at St. Peterſburg. While the empreſs is at Tzarſko-ſelo there is no court held except on extraordinary feſtivals.

"Of civil proceſſes, criminal and conſiſtorial cauſes, the empreſs allows nothing to be referred to her in the hours of the forenoon allotted to confer with the miniſter. Yet no perſon can be condemned to death without previous information delivered to her: this puniſhment is almoſt always commuted or mitigated. But all matters relating to the army, the navy, the finances, to foreign affairs, the taxes, and public buildings, muſt be reported to her by the chiefs of the ſeveral departments.—Every one knows that the empreſs is made acquainted with whatever concerns the adminiſtration of government, and acts from herſelf in all ſtate affairs.—As ſhe never interferes in private matters and the family concerns of her houſehold, ſhe has always time enough for buſineſs of a public nature; eſpecially as ſhe regularly and uniformly apportions the hours of her day to the accurate interchange of writing, converſation, exerciſe, and company.

In

In conſtitution ſhe is healthy and robuſt; her mind is tranquil, cheerful, and always diſpoſed to buſineſs."

In order to introduce the practice of inoculation into the remoter parts of her empire, Catharine inſtituted hoſpitals for that purpoſe in various places, even to the extremities of Aſia, where the practice is carried on with ſucceſs, not only in cities and towns, but even among the nations of the ſteppes. In the northern regions the ſmall-pox frequently made dreadful havoc: the peninſula of Kamtſhatka alone, from December 1768 to December 1769, loſt by this diſtemper 5638 perſons. But relief was now extended alſo to Siberia: at Irkutzk, the government town on the lake Baikal, a ſmall-pox hoſpital was inſtituted in 1772. The number of perſons cured of that diſtemper in this ſame year amounted already to 510; in 1773 the patients that went out in perfect health were 1259; in 1774 the number was 897; and 1775 the perſons cured were 711. On the other hand, in theſe four years, of the inoculated only 28 died from various accidents.

This Irkutzk (to give only one inſtance of the benefit of the inſtitutions which Catharine carried on at the diſtance of near 6000 verſts from her reſidence) is at preſent one

of

of the moſt conſiderable and largeſt towns in all Siberia. This may be eaſily known from the travels of the learned profeſſor Pallas; ſince, as we have ſeen, the empreſs ſpared no expence in cauſing the country to be examined by expert ſurveyors and eminent naturaliſts. The ſurvey of the empire, and the maps made upon it, and ſince publiſhed, would alone be ſufficient to render the name of Catharine immortal. Roads were every where made in conformity with this ſurvey; and, though they are not all provided with cauſeways, but are only levelled and made ſolid, yet they are all marked out by regularly numbered verſt-poſts. Irkutzk, by theſe, lies 2233 verſts from Pekin, 5093 verſts from Moſco, and 5873 from St. Peterſburg. Mr. Pallas found there in 1772 already 1153 dwelling-houſes, and the place in a flouriſhing condition; it contains a great number of inhabitants, moſtly merchants. The ſtreets are broad and ſtrait. There is a german congregation, with a place of worſhip and its own paſtor. In this town, in 1764 Catharine founded a navigation-ſchool, principally in regard to the ſeas about Japan, and to the ocean between Aſia and America. It is ſupplied with pilots from the admiralty as teachers of the art of navigation; and native Japaneſes were appointed (who were ſtill there

there in 1772) to inſtruct the ſcholars in the language of their country.

In 1769 the empreſs inſtituted the order of St. George, for military perſons. A four-cornered golden ſtar, with the initials of St. George in a black border, and round in ruſſian characters, "For merit and valour," is worn, with a riband of black and orange-coloured ſtripes. The knights are divided into four claſſes, and obtain the order on the atchievement of ſome act of valour, or after having ſerved 25 years as ſuperior officers without reproach. A ſpecific number of each claſs enjoy penſions, from 100 to 700 rubles.

CHAP. VIII.

Diſcontents in divers parts of the empire.—Cauſes that determine ſeveral impoſtors to aſſume the name of Peter III.—Rebellion of Pugatſheff.—His ſucceſſes.—His reverſe of fortune.—His execution.—1774, 1775.

THE uniform proſperity of the empreſs ſeemed for a moment to have reached its term: A terrible ſtorm was gathering in the remoteſt provinces

provinces of the empire; the ſky of its horizon darkened; the black clouds came on; the thunder growled; the tempeſt threatened to overturn the throne of Catharine. Some parts of the conduct of that princeſs had excited great diſcontents in a conſiderable number of her ſubjects. Several of the antient nobility took offence at the caprices and arrogant airs of her favourites; while the clergy burnt with the deſire of revenge for the loſs of their privileges, and the people murmured at the vexations without number to which they were expoſed. The boors, in ſhort, were almoſt become deſperate at ſeeing their children ſucceſſively raviſhed from their families for furniſhing recruits to the armies which the ſword of the Turks, and the horrible plague were inceſſantly mowing down on the banks of the Danube. The Koſaks of the Don gave the firſt ſignal of revolt. They had at their head a man, who, knowing their credulity, and ſeeing the ſpirit of diſcontent that was ſpread among them, quickly ſucceeded in cauſing ſeveral provinces to riſe, and who, if he had been maſter of more art in taking advantage of his ſucceſſes, would undoubtedly have given a different turn to the fate of Ruſſia.

But it ſhould firſt be explained what it was that determined this man to take upon him the

the bold part he played. The popes could not forgive Catharine for not reſtoring to them their poſſeſſions. They had recourſe, therefore, to impoſture, as one of the moſt ſure and eaſy means of revenge; having learned, from the eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of all ages and nations, how ſeldom it fails of ſucceſs. They privately ſpread abroad the report that Peter III. was not dead; and that he would ſoon make his appearance to reclaim his throne of the empreſs.

A falſe Peter III. had indeed preſented himſelf in the province of Voronetch*; but he was taken, declared to be an impoſtor, and puniſhed with death.

Some years after †, a deſerter from the regiment of Orloff, named Chernicheff, appeared in the village of Kopenka, on the frontiers of the Krimea, and alſo gave out that he was the emperor ſuppoſed to be dead. The popes procured him a great number of partizans; and they were preparing to crown him in a church, when a colonel of the ruſſian troops, who had been informed that Chernicheff was inciting the people to a revolt, came and ſeized on him, and inſtantly cauſed his head to be ſtruck off.

* He was a ſhoemaker of Voronetch, and appeared in 1767.

† In 1770.

At the beginning of the naval war in the Archipelago, the Montenegrins made head againſt the Turks, refuſed to pay the uſual tribute, and drove the collectors out of their diſtrict. To this they were incited by a foreigner, moſt probably an Illyrian, named Stefano Piccolo, who in the ſeven-years war had ſerved among the auſtrian irregular troops, and afterwards could find no inclination to peace and tranquillity. Count Orloff, in 1769, took advantage of his ſituation in thoſe parts, and ſent to him prince Michael Dolgorouki; but he would not be perſuaded to agree to the propoſals of theſe commanders, felt himſelf rather uneaſy too under the ruſſian guard that had been ſet over him, and found means, by one artifice or another, to circulate the report that he was really the dethroned emperor, Peter III. The enthuſiaſm inſpired by the ruſſian name among the Greeks of thoſe provinces, led them eaſily to believe that what he pretended was true. Some of their biſhops ſeconded this enthuſiaſm with warmth; and this ſtratagem occaſioned an inſurrection among the people. But it was not long before the janiſſaries obliged the Illyrian to take to flight: more fortunate than the other falſe Peters, he eſcaped the ſcaffold.

A fourth impoſtor appeared afterwards in the government of Oufa. By birth a vaſſal on an eſtate belonging to the family of Vorontzoff, he fled among the koſaks, and followed a detachment which went, at the beginning of 1772, to join the ruſſian army. On coming up to one of the ſtations in the deſart between the Don and the Volga, he aſſembled his comrades, and aſſured them that he was Peter III. This ſtupid and barbarous crew believed him, acknowledged him as emperor, and ſwore to die in his defence. This done, he proceeded to appoint his miniſters, his generals, and prepared himſelf for wearing the crown with as much confidence as if he had been in poſſeſſion of a kingdom and a powerful army. But his reign was not long. At the end of a few hours a ruſſian officer came, and caught hold of his new majeſty by the hair of his head, cauſed him to be bound by his own ſubjects, and ſent him to priſon at Tzaritzin. There the ſoldiers and the inhabitants, excited by the monks, made an attempt to ſet free the impoſtor. But colonel Zipletoff, commandant of the fortreſs, a part of the garriſon having retained their fidelity, ſucceeded, by means of their fire-arms, in diſperſing the ſeditious. The impoſtor was immediately condemned to the knoot, and periſhed under the ſcourge of the hangman.

A priſoner at Irkutzk attempted, in 1772, to follow the example of the four delinquents of whom we have juſt been ſpeaking, and met with no better a fate. All theſe tragical farces were only the prelude to ſanguinary ſcenes preparing by a more formidable villain.

Catharine now was doomed to ſee the third and greateſt calamity that befel her during the whole of her reign; an open rebellion and its attendant, a civil war. This calamity alſo took its riſe in Aſia, and proceeded quite to Moſco. The author of it was Ikhelman* Pugatſheff, the ſon of a koſak, and born at Simoveïſk, a village on the borders of the Don. He ſerved at firſt as a common ſoldier in the army which the empreſs Elizabeth ſent, in 1756, againſt the king of Pruſſia. He afterwards made the campaign of 1769 againſt the Turks, and fought under general Panin at the ſiege of Bender. On the ſurrender of that town he applied for his diſmiſſion; which was refuſed him. Upon this he fled to Poland. Here ſome hermits of the greek confeſſion, of whom he demanded the rights of hoſpitality, kept him concealed for ſome time.

* Some perſons call him Yemelka, and others Yemelyan Pugatſhef; but he is named Ikhelman in the manifeſtos of the empreſs.

With these hermits he frequently discoursed of his campaigns and his various adventures. One day he related to them, that while he was in the army of general Panin, a russian officer said to him, after considering him for a long time, "If the emperor Peter III, my master, "was not dead, I should believe that I saw him "once more in thee." The hermits seemed not to pay much attention to this matter; but some time after, one of their comrades, whom Pugatsheff had not yet seen, exclaimed all at once, "Is not that the emperor Peter III?" The monks then made attempts to seduce him; and found no great trouble in succeeding. As soon as he was prepared for being employed as an instrument in their imposture, he went to the town of Dubranka, where he staid some days. Thence he proceeded to Little Russia, and sojourned among the sectaries, who are very numerous in those parts, and practise the greek religion as it was taught by the primitive church. Afraid of being detected as a deserter, he ran to the kosaks of the banks of the Yaïk, a river to which Catharine has since given the name of Oural *. Pugatsheff communicated to several

* It was to obliterate the memory of the revolt of these kosaks that the empress ordered the name of the river Yaïk to be changed into that of Oural, and the name of the mountains of Yaïk into that of the Ouralskoï mountains.

of theſe koſaks the deſign he had formed of putting himſelf at the head of a party, and engaged them to accompany him into the mountains of Caucaſus, with the aſſurance that there they would find powerful ſuccours. They were ignorant as yet that he had reſolved to give himſelf out for Peter III. But, as it was known that he was diſpoſing the people to ſedition, he was ſeized at Malkoffska, and ſent to take his trial at Kaſan. The governor here neglected to proſecute him. Pugatſheff, while in priſon, was frequently viſited by the popes, who, it is not to be doubted, were in poſſeſſion of his ſecret. They furniſhed him with money, which he employed in corrupting his guards, and made his eſcape. He immediately rejoined ſome of his old comrades, went down the Volga as far as the mouth of the Irghis, proceeded up that river, and penetrated into the deſart. Here he ſaw his company increaſing from day to day; and when he thought he might ſafely reckon on a formidable party, he publicly declared that he was the emperor Peter III. delivered by a miracle from the hand of his aſſaſſins.

It was not at firſt known with certainty what could have moved him to this foul revolt, and induced him to act ſo dangerous a part. Some imagined it was at the inſtigation of the divan; and indeed the Turks could not have wiſhed for

a more

a more timely diverſion, and which actually wrought very powerfully in their behalf in 1773. Others ſaw in this buſineſs the finger of the french miniſtry, which, on finding its hopes of the enervation of Ruſſia by the diſturbances in Poland and the war with Turkey fruſtrated, might have recurred to the artifice of raiſing up an inteſtine foe. However, of all this no trace was ever to be diſcovered. Pugatſheff had no foreigner about him, and at length ſtood in need of far better counſel than he could obtain from his own unformed though not very defective underſtanding. If any european cabinet was working at a diſtance upon him and through him, it was neceſſary that he ſhould at leaſt have begun his rebellion, ere the thought could have occurred to it of meddling in the matter. Perhaps therefore, as ſome ſurmiſed, the firſt movement was in himſelf. What was undeniably the cauſe that moved his tribe to join him was the religious diſcord that ſubſiſted between that race and the domineering church. In Ruſſia there is a ſort of ſeparatiſts, who in the former century ſprung up on the introduction of ſome alterations in the eccleſiaſtical rites and ceremonies by the patriarch Nicon. The government encouraged his reformation; while many of the ſubjects regarded it with abhorrence,

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as an innovation, and the patriarch himſelf as antichriſt. For theſe people the party-name, Roſkolniki, which is tantamount to heretics or ſchiſmatics, was invented; but they call themſelves Starovertzi, or Believers according to the old faith. They reject all that is done by the prevailing church as unholy; becauſe they think the ſucceſſion of biſhops interrupted by Nicon, and therefore refuſe to acknowledge his adherents for true prieſts. They deſpiſe the public worſhip which is adminiſtered by the clergy appointed by government, never receive the communion of them, nor ſuffer their children to be baptized at their hands. On the other hand, they boaſt their biſhops and prieſts to have received genuine conſecration from the patriarch Joſeph, which has been propagated in undiſturbed ſucceſſion. They live, however, ſo cloſe and retired, that their diſcipline and principles are not thoroughly known; as they have undergone ſome ſevere perſecutions, eſpecially in former times, and ſo lately as under Peter I. Catharine II. immediately on her acceſſion to the government, aboliſhed ſeveral regulations that tended much to the diſadvantage of the Roſkolnicks. In Ruſſia proper there are but few of this ſect of faith; but all Siberia is full of them; and all the koſaks of the Don and of

 ſouthern

ſouthern Aſia are zealouſly attached to it. At firſt ſight it may appear ſurpriſing, that a rude and half-ſavage people ſhould take part in theological controverſies with ſo much zeal. But we learn from the hiſtory of Poland, that the horrible wars of that kingdom with its protected relatives the koſaks, in the laſt century, had likewiſe religious coercion for their foundation: a deſign was formed to force them to throw off the original form of their primitive religion, and to become of what were called the United. The hordes of koſaks ſeem to be extremely bigoted to pure orthodoxy, and to hold all attempt at innovation in abhorrence. In fact, it is wonderful that governments ſhould think of perſecuting ſuch ſimple honeſt beings for their notions on theſe and ſimilar ſubjects.

Beſides this animoſity to the eſtabliſhed church, and beſides the natural inconſiſtency of this turbulent people, another circumſtance occurred to the koſaks of the Yaïk. They had for ſeveral years before been engaged in violent differences with their attaman *, concerning the

* This word ſignifies a commander.—But it differs from hettman, which implies the chief of the koſak ſtate collectively. This latter poſt, which confers great wealth as well as

the bounds of their fisheries, and the court was obliged to send, in 1767, general Traubenberg and the captain of the guards Durnoff to quell them. But the kosaks were so dissatisfied with the decisions of these commissioners, that they murdered the general, and cruelly treated the captain. These crimes remained unpunished, because the government was too much employed in foreign concerns: a disadvantage that naturally attends a too great extent of empire, that foreign politics and war take off the attention and energy of government from the interior. The kosaks themselves, however, did not forget what they had done, and apprehended very dangerous consequences from it: they thought the crown was making preparations for revenge, and concluded that the best security on their side against it was a farther resistance by means of rebellion: besides, they fancied that the silence of the court was a mark of its weakness, and that they might therefore take these steps unheeded. In short, their minds in general were bent upon

as enormous power, the crown has often suffered to lie dormant. Elizabeth revived it for her favourite, Razumoffsky. Catharine abolished the dignity again in 1764, but afterwards conferred it on prince Potemkin.

violent meaſures, when Pugatſheff made his appearance among them, and renewed the tranſactions of the Don-koſak Stenka Razin, which were ſtill freſh in the memory of ſome, who, in the preceding century, in the time of the reforming patriarch Nicon, had raiſed a formidable rebellion, firſt among the hordes of the Volga, and then among them of the Yaïk. The koſaks, in general, from the levity natural to a people not tied down to an entirely calm way of life, are not accuſtomed to act with conſummate prudence, and have frequently cauſed alarm to the government; but on many occaſions likewiſe their bravery and fidelity have been of eminent ſervice to the ruſſian empire.

Pugatſheff took the moſt effectual means of working on the temper of his nation by giving himſelf out for Peter III. who had eſcaped by flight from his perſecutors, and in place of whom a ſoldier very like him had been ſubſtituted as a victim to their fury.

The koſaks on the borders of the Caſpian, a credulous and ignorant race, and remote from all correſpondence with any principal towns, received in 1773, with honeſt joy, the private intelligence of the condition of the man to whom they looked up for deliverance from the oppreſſions of the predominant church; and, ſtrange

as it may ſeem, this very circumſtance made the ſimple ſtory credible to them. In order to juſtify the dethronization of Peter, the people were at that time told, that he wanted to alter the dreſs and the rites of the clergy, to ſhake the eſtabliſhed religion to its very foundations, and unlawfully to diminiſh the ſplendid revenues of the church. What idea could the koſaks entertain of that emperor, according to this account of him, but as of a genuine roſkolnik *, who,

* Theſe ſectaries are called, by the greek chriſtians, *roſkolniki* or heretics; but they deſignate themſelves by the appellation *ſtaroverſki*, or people of the ancient faith.—To give an idea of the fanaticiſm and intrepidity of theſe wild chriſtians, we will cite the example of one of their prieſts, named Toma, who lived during the reign of Peter the great.—Toma thought proper to preach at Moſco againſt the invocation of ſaints and ſome other dogmas of the dominant church. The clergy cited him to appear before them, and exhorted him to make a ſolemn abjuration of his erroneous tenets. Inſtead of hearkening to their admonitions, Toma armed himſelf with an axe, entered the church on the day of the feaſt of St. Alexius, and hewed to pieces not only the figure of the ſaint, but that of the virgin. This done, he got up into the pulpit, to explain the motives of his conduct; but the people would not give him time to ſpeak. He was ſentenced to hold his right hand, with the hatchet in it, over a fire, till it was entirely conſumed, and then to be burnt alive. Toma heard his ſentence read with the utmoſt compoſure of mind; nor did his courage forſake him,

who, for that very reafon, was deprived of his crown? Thefe rofkolniks now began to look about them, and found it highly natural, that he would throw himfelf into their arms as his brethren in the faith. With hearty attachment, therefore, they joined themfelves to him; having before them the ravifhing profpect of retaliating on the predominant church all the calamities it had brought upon their fathers, if the emperor fhould re-afcend the throne that of right belonged to him, by their affiftance, and that then the orthodox believers would completely triumph over the execrable innovators, the cruel corruptors of the orthodox faith.

About the middle of September 1773, Pugatsheff's whole retinue confifted of nine perfons: a few days afterwards he was at the head of 300 men. With thefe, on the 17th of September, he boldly prefented himfelf before Yaïtfkoy, and

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him at the time of execution. He fedately held his hand extended over the flame; and when he was laid upon the faggots, he continued to declaim againft the abufes that had been introduced into religion.—Whenever the government has thought fit to oblige the rofkolniks to embrace the ruffian faith, numbers of them have affembled by families in barns, and have fuffered themfelves to be burnt alive. This happened in 1722 in various parts of Ruffia.

ſummoned that town to ſurrender, notwithſtanding there were in it 5000 koſaks and two field-regiments. To theſe troops he ſent his manifeſto, in which he declared to them, among other things, "that he was Peter III. who had "eſcaped from Ropſcha at the inſtant when his "aſſaſſins were about to murder him; that the "traitors who had dethroned him, and dreaded "his return, had falſely invented and propagated the report of his death; that he had "been obliged to put on the diſguiſe of a koſak, "to bear arms for his perſecutors, and afterwards to conceal himſelf among the true and "faithful believers, to whom he had made himſelf known; that having learnt at length that "the brave koſaks of the Yaïk were reſolved "to free themſelves from the yoke of the uſurpatrix, he was come to put himſelf into their "hands, and to offer to march with them to "victory and to vengeance." Immediately 500 of the koſaks came over to him, bringing with them 11 of their officers: the lieutenant-colonel, who was commander of the place, fearing leſt all his people ſhould deſert him, drew back into the town. Pugatſheff followed him, and cauſed that officer to be hanged up; and in this manner he ever afterwards acted with all the commanders of the places to which he came. It would be impoſſible

impoſſible to deſcribe all the cruelties with which this barbarian treated the ſeveral perſons of rank that fell into his power; as well as to delineate his marches from place to place, his conqueſts of towns, and his battles, which ſhew that he was not wanting in courage, and frequently not in regular plans and ſtratagems of war: nor would the attempt be leſs fruitleſs, to recount, on the other ſide, all the miſtakes and negligences committed by the ruſſian commanders, and the baſeneſs with which numbers of them ſubmitted to him. General Karr was appointed by the court of Peterſburg to go and reſtore tranquillity. Whether he thought that the bare news of his arrival would diſperſe the rebels, he travelled poſt from Moſco to Orenburg, which Pugatſheff kept cloſe beſieged; and by his imprudence ſacrificed the whole of a large detachment; renewed the attack with what ſoldiers he had left, was beaten, and returned by poſt to Moſco with as much haſte as he had left it.

Pugatſheff, attended by his koſaks, as well thoſe who were his firſt partizans as the others who ſince attached themſelves to him, attacked the colonies which the empreſs had newly eſtabliſhed on the ſhores of the Irghis. He wanted their arms and their horſes: theſe he carried off, but

but did them no farther harm; for as yet he affected a moderation to which ſoon ſucceeded the moſt atrocious brutality. Having already under his command 14,000 ſoldiers, he preſented himſelf again before the gates of Yaïtſk. He ſent to the governor an order, ſigned with the name of Peter III. to ſurrender to him the town. The governor refuſed to obey; and Pugatſheff began the aſſault, but was courageouſly repulſed. Perceiving that it would be impoſſible to carry the place by force, he reſolved to turn the ſiege into a blockade, and oblige it to ſurrender by famine. This proved alike ineffectual; for the garriſon, though reduced to the neceſſity of eating the fleſh of their horſes, and even to live upon boiled leather, obſtinately continued to hold out, and repreſſed the inhabitants who wanted to open the gates to Pugatſheff. The patience and the zeal of this garriſon were nobly rewarded. A conſiderable body of ruſſian forces came to its relief juſt in time to ſave it from the maſſacre, to which there is no doubt that it had been devoted by the rebels.

Pugatſheff was not long ere he compenſated himſelf for this diſappointment. He ſurpriſed the tribes Œlœts, and took, ſword in hand, the two fortreſſes by which they were protected. The fort of Tatiſcheva, which he afterwards attacked,

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made a ſtouter reſiſtance: but, the fortifications being only of timber, he conſigned it to the flames, and forced the garriſon to ſeek their ſafety by flight.

The governor of Orenburg, informed of the progreſs of the rebels, marched againſt them a detachment under the orders of colonel Buloff. This officer was deficient both in prudence and fortitude: and, being ſurpriſed in the defiles of the mountains by the troops of Pugatſheff, he was inhumanly put to the ſword. Thoſe of his ſoldiers who refuſed to enliſt among the rebels, remained priſoners. General Chernicheff, who, at the head of a ſecond detachment, was to have joined colonel Buloff, ſuffered himſelf to be ſurpriſed as the latter had been, and met with no better a fate.

The army of Pugatſheff being now very ſtrong by forced recruits and voluntary and more numerous acceſſions of Koſaks, that rebel went and laid ſiege to Orenburg. The governor of that town had already reduced himſelf by the ſeveral detachments he had ſent againſt the rebels. The ſoldiers that remained to him were not in a condition for making any defence. Orenburg was on the point of being taken, when the garriſon of Kraſnogorſk ad-

vanced with ſuccours, and valiantly cutting a paſſage through the beſiegers, threw themſelves into the place and ſaved it.

The noiſe of the rapid conqueſts of Pugatſheff gained him new adherents. Whole hordes came and ranked under his ſtandards: the Baſchkirs, a hunting people, who live upon the ruſſian territory, and wear its yoke with diſcontent, declared themſelves for the rebels, and furniſhed them with numerous recruits. The Kirguiſes ſhortly after followed the Baſchkirs; they were imitated by the Budyak Tartars, whom the empreſs had cauſed to be tranſported to the banks of the Volga, after the capture of Bender, and who could never forgive that princeſs for their tranſmigration. The revolt ſpread itſelf into the other colonies of thoſe countries. The peaſants employed in the copper mines and the founderies of the mountains of Oural, left their work and took up arms.

Pugatſheff vigorouſly puſhed the ſiege of Orenburg. While the trenches were occupied by one part of his troops, the other went and brought off the copper money which is coined on the ſpot and laid up in ſtores. Here he alſo caſt cannon and balls for the ſervice of the operations againſt the town. He employed

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ſome of the winter months in this ſiege, during which time he delivered himſelf up to the exceſſes of debauchery and cruelty.

The rebels had by this time ſo numerous an army, that the regiments ſent from Kaſan, often narrowly eſcaped being forced, in defending the paſſage of the mountains which ſeparate that city from Orenburg. During the winter a body of 10,000 Kalmuks, after having revolted in the environs of Stavropol, and ſlain the brigadier Véguézac* their commander, joined themſelves to the troops of Pugatſheff. But what contributed perhaps to render his army ſtill more formidable, was a great number of the Poles whom Catharine had ſent into exile in the deſarts of Siberia. Glorying in ſo many advantages, Pugatſheff ran over the mountains of the government of Orenburg, committing depredations wherever he came. The petty town of Oufa was the only one that made any reſiſtance. He committed the ſiege of it to one of the chiefs of his army, and marched ſtrait to Ekatarinenburg, where he knew that there was a depoſit of nearly 1,000,000 of rubles in copper money newly coined. An accident ſaved the town. At the inſtant when Pugatſheff came up

* He was a french refugee.

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to it, he received the falſe intelligence, that a ruſſian army, ſuperior in force to his own, was advancing by a circuitous route. He believed the information: and having ſlackened his march in order to collect his forces, he left time to the regiments diſperſed on the frontiers of Siberia, to come to the defence of Ekatarinenburg.

For ſome time after Pugatſheff had taken arms, obſervant of the leſſons he had received from the hermits of Podolia, and the prieſts of the roſkolniki, he put on the appearance of much moderation and piety. He wore an epiſcopal robe, gave the benediction to the people, aſſuring them that for himſelf he was deſtitute of all ambition, and that he had no other deſign than to place the grand duke his ſon on the throne, and then go and finiſh his days among the pious recluſes, who had afforded him ſo convenient an aſylum after his eſcape from his aſſaſſins. This artful conduct procured him ſoldiers. Other means obtained him victory; and then adding courage to activity, he let no opportunity eſcape him for ſpreading far and wide the terror of his arms. He dextrouſly took advantage of the knowledge of the country in which he conducted his warfare, and the imprudence or the weakneſs of the enemy. He never abandoned the pillage of a canton but in

order to fly to a ſiege; and ſcarcely had he obliged a town to ſubmit, before he was on the march to engage in a battle. But this man, who triumphed with ſuch rapidity over all the ſeverities of fortune, was incapable of ſupporting its favours. Succeſs increaſed his arrogance; he thought it impoſſible to meet with obſtacles which he muſt not eaſily ſurmount. He threw aſide all conſtraint, gave ſcope to his ſanguinary temper and to his brutal paſſions, ſuffered the enthuſiaſm of his partizans to cool, gave time to his adverſaries to prepare to ſubdue him, and fooliſhly ſtopped in the midſt of his career.

The ſpirit of rebellion had ſpread as far as Moſco. Marſhal Romantzoff had not dared to weaken himſelf by ſending ſuccours to that capital, which was defended only by a garriſon of 600 men. Pugatſheff had no more to do than to preſent himſelf before it, for making himſelf maſter of the place: he neglected to go. Thus loſing by his own fault, not only the ſecond city of the empire in point of conſequence, but an army alſo of 100,000 vaſſals who expected him there, and only waited his arrival for running away from bondage.

Pugatſheff neglected even to profit by the advantages he had gained in the provinces which had ſubmitted to his arms. He ſpent the greater

part of the winter in the uſeleſs ſieges of Orenburg and Yaïtſk. It was before Orenburg that he exterminated by the ſabre all the officers and gentry of the country round; not ſparing even their wives and their children: determined, as he ſaid, to ſhed the very laſt drop of blood of the haughty and tyrannical nobility. But, by a ſtrange inconſiſtency, at the ſame time that he was inhumanly butchering the nobles, he conferred on thoſe of his partizans, of whom he thought himſelf moſt ſure, the names of the principal families of the empire, and the enſigns of divers orders of knighthood.

He alienated a number of his countrymen by braving the religious prejudices in behalf of which he had at firſt performed the part of a zealot. Although he had been married for ſome years to Sophia the daughter of a Koſak, and had three children by this union, he had the effrontery at Yaïtſk to marry a public woman, and celebrated his nuptials with all the bacchanal licentiouſneſs that was worthy of the wife he had eſpouſed.

Catharine, alarmed at the rebellion that menaced her throne, ſeriouſly ſet about checking its progreſs. She recalled general Bibikoff from the frontiers of Turkey, gave him the command of a conſiderable army, with orders to march

againſt the rebels. At the ſame time ſhe cauſed to be publiſhed at St. Peterſburg, and in all the principal towns of the empire, the manifeſto which follows:

"By the grace of God, we Catharine II. empreſs and "autocratrix of all the Ruſſias, &c. make known to all our "faithful ſubjects, that we have learnt, with the utmoſt in-"dignation and extreme affliction, that a certain Koſak, a "deſerter and fugitive from the Don, named Ikhelman Pu-"gatſheff, after having traverſed Poland, has been collect-"ing for ſome time paſt, in the diſtricts that border on the "river Irghis in the government of Orenburg, a troop of "vagabonds like himſelf; that he continues to commit in "thoſe parts all kinds of exceſſes, by inhumanly depriving "the inhabitants of their poſſeſſions and even of their lives; "and that in order to draw over to his party, hitherto "compoſed of robbers, ſuch perſons as he meets, and eſpe-"cially the unhappy patriots, on whoſe credulity he im-"poſes, he has had the inſolence to arrogate to himſelf "the name of the late emperor Peter III. It would "be ſuperfluous here to prove the abſurdity of ſuch an "impoſture, which cannot even put on a ſhadow of pro-"bability in the eyes of ſenſible perſons: for, thanks to the "divine goodneſs, thoſe ages are paſſed in which the ruſſian "empire was plunged in ignorance and barbariſm; when "a Griſka, an Outreper, with their adherents, and ſeveral "other traitors to their country, made uſe of impoſtures as "groſs and deteſtable, to arm brother againſt brother, and "citizen againſt citizen.

"Since thoſe æras, which it is grievous to recollect, all "true patriots have enjoyed the fruits of public tranquillity, "and ſhudder with horror at the very remembrance of "former troubles. In a word, there is not a man deſerving

" of the ruſſian name who does not hold in abomination the " odious and inſolent lie by which Pugatſheff fancies himſelf " able to ſeduce and to deceive perſons of a ſimple and cre- " dulous diſpoſition, by promiſing to free them from the " bonds of ſubmiſſion and obedience to their ſovereign, as if " the creator of the univerſe had eſtabliſhed human ſocieties " in ſuch a manner as that they can ſubſiſt without an inter- " mediate authority between the ſovereign and the people.

" Nevertheleſs, as the inſolence of this vile refuſe of the " human race is attended with conſequences pernicious " to the provinces adjacent to that diſtrict; as the report of " the flagrant enormities which he has committed may " affright thoſe perſons who are accuſtomed to imagine the " misfortunes of others as ready to fall upon them, and as " we watch with indefatigable care over the tranquillity of " our faithful ſubjects, we inform them by the preſent mani- " feſto, that we have taken, without delay, ſuch meaſures as " are the beſt adapted to ſtifle the ſedition: and in order to " annihilate totally the ambitious deſigns of Pugatſheff, and " to exterminate a band of robbers, who have been audacious " enough to attack the ſmall military detachments diſperſed " about thoſe countries, and to maſſacre the officers, who " were taken priſoners, we have diſpatched thither with a " competent number of troops, general Alexander Bibikoff, " general in chief of our armies, and major of our regiment " of life-guards.

" Accordingly, we have no doubt of the happy ſucceſs of " theſe meaſures, and we cheriſh the hope that the public " tranquillity will ſoon be reſtored, and that the profligates " who are ſpreading devaſtation over a part of the govern- " ment of Orenburg will ſhortly be diſperſed. We are " moreover perſuaded that our faithful ſubjects will juſtly " abhor the impoſture of the rebel Pugatſheff, as deſti- " tute of all probability, and will repel the artifices of

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"the ill-diſpoſed, who ſeek and find their advantage in the "ſeduction of the weak and credulous, and who cannot aſ-"ſuage their avidity but by ravaging their country, and by "ſhedding of innocent blood.

"We truſt with equal confidence that every true ſon "of the country will unremittedly fulfil his duty, of contri-"buting to the maintenance of good order and of the public "tranquillity, by preſerving himſelf from the ſnares of ſeduc-"tion, and by duly diſcharging his obedience to his lawful "ſovereign. All our faithful ſubjects therefore may diſpel "their alarms and live in perfect ſecurity, ſince we employ "our utmoſt care, and make it our peculiar glory, to preſerve "their property and to extend the general felicity.— "Given at St. Peterſburg, Dec. 23, 1773. O. S."

Three new ukauſes followed cloſe upon that which announced the march of Bibikoff. In one the people were admoniſhed to obſerve henceforth no laws but ſuch as are ſigned by the empreſs's own hand: in the other all deſerters, and eſpecially the Koſaks of the Don and the Yaïk, to return to the ſtandard of the empreſs, aſſuring them of an amneſty to be in force till the firſt of April in the enſuing year. Laſtly, by the third a reward was ſet upon the head of Pugatſheff, promiſing a recompence of 100,000 rubles to whoever ſhould put him to death*.

* It plainly appears that the empreſs was much alarmed at this revolt, and yet ſhe had ſo much ſelf-command as to make a jeſt of it in ſome of her letters. She even called the chief of the rebels, *le marquis Pugatſheff.*

Neither

Neither was Pugatſheff, on his ſide, ſparing of manifeſtos; and on their publication he always took care to affix the name of Peter III. By one of theſe manifeſtos he affranchiſes all the boors. He alſo cauſed rubles to be ſtruck, with his effigy and this inſcription: "Peter III. em- "peror and autocrator of all the Ruſſias." And on the reverſe, "Redivivus et ultor."

In the mean time general Bibikoff was already at Kaſan *. Having received advice that the rebels had made themſelves maſters of Samara, he detached a part of his army to go and retake that city. The ſiege was not of long continuance. The rebels abandoned the place with eight pieces of cannon and 200 priſoners.

The nobleſſe of Kaſan were convoked; and general Bibikoff invited them to join him in oppoſing the rebellion. To this the nobleſſe were already diſpoſed, as it was their own cauſe which they had to defend. Their example was followed by thoſe of Sinbirſk, of Penza, and ſeveral other governments; and the regiments they formed without loſs of time conſiderably augmented the forces of Bibikoff. Catharine then wrote to that general, "that not only ſhe ſaw "with gratitude the zeal which the nobles

* He arrived there the 25th of December 1773.

"had

" had so generously displayed, in offering to " sacrifice every thing to the public welfare; " but that to give on that occasion a shining " mark of her benevolence, she had resolved to " become herself a member of the nobility " of Kasan, and to be regarded as a denizen " of that city."

Lieutenant-colonel Grineff gained a first advantage at Alexieff*. After an obstinate resistance, the rebels left him master of the field of battle and three pieces of cannon. A few days afterwards they fell upon him while on his march, but they were again discomfited. Some other lieutenants of Bibikoff obtained also considerable successes in engagements with several bodies of Tartars. Notwithstanding which, the rebels increased in numbers and insolence from day to day. They ran from all parts of eastern Russia, and ravaged an extent of country of upwards of 600 leagues.

General Bibikoff having advanced at the head of 35,000 men, forced Pugatsheff to raise the siege of Orenburg, where a famine was beginning to rage. The rebels retreated into the environs of Tatischeva. Bibikoff sent in pursuit of them major-general prince Gallitzin, with a consider-

* The 9th of January.

able

able body of troops. Prince Gallitzin attacked Pugatſheff, and fought him valiantly: but for this firſt time he obtained no decided advantage. On this occaſion he could not help remarking, that the ferocious intrepidity of the rebels was directed by officers who had not acquired the whole of their ſkill in the deſarts of Baſchkiria, or under the tents of the Kalmuks *.

On his retreat from prince Gallitzin, Pugatſheff changed all at once the courſe of his march, and fell upon Bibikoff, who had only kept with him a weak part of his army. The conflict was bloody, and the ruſſian general loſt his life.

Prince Gallitzin burnt with the deſire to revenge the death of Bibikoff. He attacked the rebels again near Kargaula, 12 miles from Orenburg: in this action he killed a great number of them, and diſperſed the reſt. Pugatſheff that day fought ſix hours; but ſeeing himſelf abandoned on all ſides, he took to flight, and eſcaped with difficulty to the mountains of Oural, where he was joined by his partizans with all poſſible ſpeed. But preſently appearing again with a conſiderable army, he made himſelf maſter of

* It is affirmed, that among them was a brother of the famous Pulaufsky, general of the confederation of Bar. Beſides, ſome of their leaders, as Antizoff, Uſſeïeff, and Nagai-Baka-Azanoff, were both brave and intelligent men.

ſeveral places to the eaſt of the mountains, ſetting fire to ſuch as made the leaſt reſiſtance. Here he was attacked by a body of Ruſſians, who routed him afreſh, and obliged him to take again to the inacceſſible heights: where, perceiving that the only courſe he had to purſue was to attempt at retrieving his fortune by ſome ſignal advantage, all at once he deſcends from the ſummits of Oural, and marches with rapidity towards Kaſan, leaving marks of his cruelty at every ſtep of his way. No ſooner had he appeared before Kaſan, but he ſet the ſuburbs in one conflagration. Major-general Paul Potemkin *, governor of the province, might have kept the field againſt Pugatſheff, and have oppoſed himſelf to the combuſtion of Kaſan: he choſe rather to ſhut himſelf up in the fortreſs, where the rebels beſieged him, and would inevitably have taken him, if colonel Mikelſon had not come up to his deliverance. Pugatſheff had not even dared to wait for Mikelſon, but precipitately raiſed the ſiege, and fled: Mikelſon, however, went after him, came up with him, haraſſed him for three days, and at laſt gave him a total defeat, after a long and bloody conteſt.

* He was a couſin of prince Potemkin.

Pugatſheff continued fighting in his defence till he had not above 300 Koſaks left. With this troop, whoſe bravery and fidelity ſupported the hope of the impoſtor, he put ſpurs to his horſe, croſſed the Volga, and gained the deſart.

It might have been reaſonably expected that this defeat would have intimidated all ſuch as had formed the project of joining the rebels; and yet Pugatſheff ſaw daily arriving about him whole ſwarms of Koſaks, of Kalmuks, of Baſhkirs, and boors, whom the very ſound of liberty, and the hope of eſcaping their oppreſſive maſters, had cauſed to abandon their labour, and fly to arms. Proud of the number of his troops, who ſeemed to multiply in proportion as they were deſtroyed by the ruſſian cannon, he reſolved to proceed to the attack of Moſco. His partizans continued ſecretly to fan the flames of rebellion. The people waited for him as for a redeemer; but it was too late. At the inſtant that Pugatſheff was beginning his march, he learnt that the Ruſſians had juſt concluded a peace with the Ottomans. Dreading now that he ſhould have to contend with the greater part of the army of marſhal Romantzoff, he thought of turning his arms to another quarter.

Intelligence being brought him that ſome ruſſian regiments were encamped on the ſhores of the Volga, he deſcended along that river, came upon thoſe regiments by ſurpriſe, routed them entirely, and took by aſſault two or three little forts, of which Saratoff was one. The commander, who knew the cataſtrophe to which he was doomed, ſeized the moment when the conqueror was buſied in pillage, and eſcaped with 50 men alone. The town of Dmitrefsk was baſely ſurrendered by treachery to Pugatſheff, who had the barbarity to cauſe the governor to be impaled alive.

While he was at Dmitrefsk, he was told that the aſtronomer Lovitch, member of the imperial academy of ſciences at St. Peterſburg, was employed in the neighbourhood in taking levels for a canal projected between the Don and the Volga. He immediately commanded him to be brought before him; and when the learned and peaceful aſtronomer was in his preſence, he ordered his men to lift him up upon their pikes, "in order," ſaid he, "that he may be nearer "the ſtars;" and then cauſed him to be cut in pieces by the Koſaks. But ſuch atrocious acts cannot be of long duration; and the greater the exceſſes committed by Pugatſheff, the greater was the ſecurity of the empreſs.

That

That princeſs, freed from the cares ſo long occaſioned her by the war with the Turks, gave orders to ſend freſh troops againſt the rebels, and gave the command of them to general Panin, who had gained great reputation by the taking of Bender. But from the moment that prince Orloff was reinſtated in favour, his inveterate hatred to the miniſter extended itſelf to his brother alſo; and the empreſs conſented, for ſome time, to let one of her beſt generals remain in a ſtate of inaction. The want ſhe had of him, or rather the reviving favour of his brother, induced her to employ him again. At length he ſet out on his march againſt Pugatſheff. The rebel forces were bearing hard upon the town of Tzaritzin, and doubtleſs intending for it a ſimilar fate with that of Saratoff; but they were obliged to raiſe the ſiege with precipitation. Panin ſent off a detachment to colonel Mikelſon. With this reinforcement Mikelſon cut off the convoys of Pugatſheff, ſtarved his army, and attacked him at the very time when, encumbered with many carts loaded with baggage, and a multitude of women who accompanied it, it was engaged in the intricate paſſes of the mountains. Notwithſtanding the diſadvantage of their poſition, the rebels determined not to ſubmit. Great numbers of them were killed on the ſpot;

and

and many of the reſt periſhed in the precipices, and among the ſteep and rugged rocks where they ſought a refuge.

Pugatſheff kept the field of battle till he had abſolutely no more means of defence. He now again ſwam over the Volga; then croſſed the vaſt deſart which extends through the adjacent diſtrict, and found himſelf at nearly the ſame place where he firſt raiſed the ſtandard of rebellion. Several of his friends had rejoined him on his flight; but hunger, fatigue, and diſappointment, determined great numbers to forſake him: notwithſtanding which, he might long have cauſed diſturbance to the empire, if treachery had not ſtepped in to the aſſiſtance of the ruſſian army.

Antizoff, the intimate confidant of Pugatſheff, and one of the chiefs who had the moſt authority with the Koſaks, had been taken priſoner; and his conſequence was employed in reducing his nation to obedience. Gifts and promiſes were laviſhed upon him; and he was commiſſioned to aſſure his countrymen that the cuſtomary gratifications for the defence of the frontiers ſhould be renewed. The expences occaſioned by the war againſt the Turks had cauſed the payment of theſe gratifications to be ſuſpended; and this was

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one of the motives that gave birth to the inſurrection of the Koſaks.

But, after all, to the indefatigable exertions of colonel Mikelſon, Ruſſia is peculiarly indebted for the quelling of this dangerous rebellion. From January 1774, he purſued the rebels without intermiſſion, how numerous ſoever their ſwarms, how remote the expedition, and whatever fortune attended his enterpriſes. It almoſt exceeds belief with what toilſome perſeverance Mikelſon purſued his march over the deſarts of trackleſs ſnow, without a guide, without ſuccours, at times almoſt without food; how his company, always ſmall, and often ſpent with fatigue, whenever they met with the great hoſt of the rebels, always attacked and always beat them; only by the prudence and the bravery of the colonel, and the confidence he had acquired from his troops. To upwards of 7000 verſts did the ſpace amount, which this excellent ſoldier had travelled over within a few months, in the moſt inclement ſeaſon, with his men.

Pugatſheff had at one time a prodigious concourſe of people. Whole nations, the Baſhkirs, many of the Votiaks, many Tartars, flocked to his banners. He conceived the grand idea of conquering the ancient and great capital of the kingdom

dom of Kasan; and it succeeded. Only the detached fort which Potemkin had entered held out against his attacks. The archbishop of Kasan came submissively, with a bag of gold in his hand, to the conqueror, and only waited for the fort to surrender, that he might bring him a second bag, and solemnly crown the rebel. The impression this circumstance would have made on the people is not to be told. In the regions of Orenburg, Kasan, and Oufa, the generality of the inhabitants had declared for the impostor. When the restless Mikelson pressed him hard, when he was in want of provisions, or military operations compelled him to change his quarters; when, by battles lost, the number of his effective followers was diminished to 4000 men; he needed only to shew himself in new districts, and the subjects immediately rose up against their lords, murdered them, or drove them away, and declared themselves openly for Pugatsheff. At length he seemed to have formed the most dangerous of his plans: he was approaching fast to Europe, and had crossed the Volga. Whole regions went over to him. With the utmost consternation it was thought possible that he might push on to Mosco; for it is a well-known fact, that the extremely numerous populace of that capital were disposed to join

 him,

him, and longed for his arrival. If he had attempted this with hafty marches, nothing could have refifted him; and who can calculate the confequences, if Mofco had fallen into his hands? But here Pugatfheff fhewed that, though endowed with talents and great prefence of mind*, yet he was too much of the barbarian for the execution of any great plan as a ftatefman or commander: he neglected Mofco, though it is faid that the general difpofition there was not unknown to him; and loft his time in tempting over the Kofaks of the Don and the Tartars of the Kuban. Now his perfecutor Mikelfon came up, and cut him off from Mofco; the reft of the troops furrounded him, and fhut up his wafted army in a defart 500 verfts in length behind Tzaritzin. Hunger, thirft, and awakening confcience, opened the eyes of his followers. As he was prolonging his miferable life by gnawing the bones of a horfe, fome of the principal of

* At the Don his firft wife had been found out, (for at the Yaïk he married a fecond,) and been fent to Kafan before that city was conquered, in order to convince the people of thofe parts of his real condition and origin. On his arrival there he happened quite unexpectedly to fee her, and, knowing her, he faid, without the leaft alteration of countenance, "Clothe that woman well. I knew her huf-"band; he has been of great fervice to me on many "occafions."

them ran up to him, ſaying, "Come, thou haſt "been long enough emperor." He fired a piſtol, and ſhattered the arm of the foremoſt; the reſt of the Koſaks bound him, ran away with their priſoner over the deſart to their ſeat on the Yaïk, and ſent a meſſenger to the commandant of the place to inform him of what they had done. General Suvaroff, hearing of the event, put the rebel under a ſufficient guard, and ſent him to priſon at Yaïtzkoï, from which place he brought him to Sinbirſk, where he delivered him over to general count Panin (who had formerly taken his diſmiſſion, but from real patriotiſm had requeſted to be permitted to have a ſhare in this conteſt) *. Mikelſon was purſuing the enemy in the deſarts, when he received intelligence of the fate of the leaders of the inſurgents. Upon

* It is poſſible that, according to one report that was circulated at the time, theſe Koſaks had been bought over, though nothing appeared in confirmation of it. It was ſaid that, while Antizoff was negotiating his accommodation, three other Koſaks, who had likewiſe been bribed, undertook to deliver up Pugatſheff; that, accordingly, they went to him, and adviſed him, as no means were now left him of ſafety, to make a voluntary ſurrender; that, incenſed at this baſeneſs as he called it, he wanted to puniſh one of them on the ſpot; and that then the three fell upon him at once, bound him, &c. The fact, as related in the text, came out on the trial.

this he conducted his troops to Saratoff, to rest after the fatigues they had undergone, but proceeded himself to Sinbirsk, where Panin gave him a noble and friendly reception, and whence Catharine recalled him, in order to recompense him according to his desert.—Thus terminated the rebellion, in which 100,000 men were slain.

General Panin caused the traitor Pugatsheff to be conveyed in an iron cage to Mosco *, together with several of his principal accomplices.

When the empress was informed that Pugatsheff was in the prison of Mosco, she appointed a commission, who united with the senate, for the trial of the rebel: taking care, at the same time, to recommend to them to be satisfied with the confession of his crime, without applying the torture, and without requiring him to name his accomplices. Her majesty was doubtless apprehensive lest the declarations of the culprit might oblige her to multiply punishments, and plunge the empire into new calamities.

The sentence passed on Pugatsheff was, that he should have his two hands and both his feet cut off; that they should be shewn to the people; and that afterwards he should be quar-

* Pugatsheff arrived at Mosco in the month of September 1774, and was executed the 21st of January following.

tered

tered alive. But this butchering ſentence was not fulfilled. By ſome perſons it is ſaid that a ſecret order from the empreſs mitigated it. Others pretend that the executioner was leſs inhuman* than the judges; and others again affirm, that it was by a mere miſtake of the man. However it be, Pugatſheff was firſt decapitated; after which his body was cut into quarters, which were expoſed in as many parts of the town. Five of his principal accomplices were likewiſe beheaded; three others were hanged; and eighteen more underwent the knoot, and were ſent to Siberia. Pugatſheff met his fate with the moſt undaunted reſolution, but was induced to acknowledge the juſtice of his ſentence, the deception he had uſed, with his true name and condition. It is ſaid, that an obſervation made ſeveral years ago by the celebrated count Totleben of the ſtriking reſemblance which he bore to the late emperor Peter III. took ſuch poſſeſſion of his mind, as to have been the operating cauſe of that calamity and ruin in which he involved, with himſelf, a great part of the empire, which coſt it the deſtruction of a great number of towns, and of

* What ſeems to confirm this opinion is, that, after the execution of Pugatſheff, the wretched hangman had his tongue cut out, and was ſent into Siberia.

 upwards

upwards of 250 villages, the interruption of the works at the mines of Orenburg, and the whole trade of Siberia. The Bafhkirs, who in 1770 amounted to 27,000 families, loft, during the rebellion, great numbers of people, and, after it was finally quelled, many of their privileges and immunities. The Meftfheræks, a tartar nation, who lived amongft them, formerly paid them a land-tax; this, as a punifhment on the former, was now abolifhed; for the Meftfheræks had remained true to the crown: they were immediately declared free people, on the footing of the Kofaks, and received feveral of the villages of the flaughtered Bafhkirs, reckoned at 1849 farms.—Laftly, in order to make an awful impreffion on the nations around by a lafting and fenfible token of difpleafure, the emprefs, by a ukaufe, abolifhed the name of Yaïk for ever. That river, which takes its rife from the eaftern fide of the mounts Oural, and gave name to the Kofaks that dwell on its borders, is at prefent, throughout the ruffian empire, called the Oural; and the town Yaïtzkoï, where Pugatfheff began and finifhed his rebellion, bears now the name of Ouralfk.

On recalling to our memory at once the momentous occurrences that followed one another fo rapidly in fuch a fhort feries of years,

we

we are lost in admiration of that mind which could calmly and sedately survey their tumultuous succession, and could, in perfect composure, provide the fittest means for assuaging their violence and correcting their influence, while it shewed itself firm and great in all other transactions of a public nature, both foreign and domestic, so as to gain the reverence of friends, and extort the respect of foes. But this is not all: ever interested in promoting the glory and elevation of the country which had fallen under her guidance, Catharine at the same time was promoting its internal welfare, by encouraging the sciences and the arts of peace; and wherever she appeared, ease and cheerfulness were in her train; and her conversations and letters were always seasoned with pleasantry and temperate mirth.

Shortly after the punishment of Pugatsheff, the empress had a fresh opportunity for displaying her clemency, by granting a pardon to men who, though not guilty of crimes of so heinous a nature as those of that traitor, yet were justly deserving of capital punishment. They were the treasurers of the empire, who had embezzled the public money. Catharine would not even allow them to be brought to trial. She had overcome what was naturally irascible and violent

violent in her temper, and had learnt patience and lenity from the lessons of philosophy. She has also been heard to say, "What I cannot "overthrow, I undermine and root up." The heavy burden incurred by her foreign and domestic wars did not prevent the empress from taking off most of the taxes which were laid for their support; and, as if the strength and riches of government in her country increased with its expence, she also abolished a number of the ancient taxes, which were either considered as discouraging to agriculture, or burdensome and oppressive to particular provinces or orders of the people. In the same spirit of beneficence and good policy, she lent great sums of money, interest free, and for a specified term of years, to those provinces which were ruined by the late rebellion; and, to crown a general pardon, she strictly forbad any particulars of that unfortunate affair to be called up, or any reproaches used on its account, but condemned all matters relative to it to perpetual silence and oblivion.

She also established a number of other regulations, all tending to the security, advantage, and happiness of her subjects, to abolish pernicious distinctions, destroy ruinous monopolies, restrain the cruelty of punishment, remove oppressive or impolitic restrictions or prohibitions,

bitions, and to reſtore mankind to a more equitable degree of equality, in thoſe different ranks which they fill in ſociety. A pardon was alſo granted to thoſe criminals who had already undergone a long degree of ſuffering for their crimes; and an ordinance iſſued to prevent any future criminal proſecution from being admitted, unleſs commenced within ten years after the date of the charge. Equal humanity was ſhewn with reſpect to impriſoned debtors, who, under certain limitations, and in certain circumſtances, were releaſed from confinement. All the heirs of the debtors to the crown were diſcharged from their bonds and obligations.

Thus Ruſſia enjoyed her power, influence, and glory, with a noble and ſplendid magnificence. All her affairs were conducted upon a great and extenſive ſyſtem; and all her acts were in a grand ſtyle. She ſat ſupreme between Europe and Aſia, and looked like the dictator of both. In her was ſeen a great but ſtill growing empire, which not having reached the ſummit of her deſtined power, felt life and vigour glowing in every part. The ſucceſſes and conſequences of the war enlarged the ſpirit, extended the views, and dignified the minds of the people. In ſuch a ſtate every thing is bold and maſculine. Even vices and crimes are great.

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If Catharine was able to do ſo much for the benefit of her country during ſuch turbulent times, what might not be expected of her in a period of peace?—She would, however, have performed much more, if even this period had been ſo calm as at firſt ſight it would appear. But it was not. If no war employed the empreſs to the detriment of her internal adminiſtration of government, yet foreign affairs attracted too much of her attention. There was no great tranſaction in which ſhe would not interfere; and in order to interfere with ſo much impreſſion, with ſo ſignificant an influence, as ſhe did, a great force muſt be kept up, and a ready participation conſtantly viſible in all the occurrences of Europe. She might have looked on with indifference when ambitious princes joſtled each other, or feeble governments were haſtening to their fall; but the former contended for her countenance, and the latter awakened in her the idea of ſtill adding to the territory of her prodigious empire. Alliances, guarantees, leagues, preparations, meaſures for attracting more reſpect, deciſive arbitrations, plans for future enterpriſes; in ſhort, every thing which the luſt of dominion can ſuggeſt, and in which policy can be employed, was the object of Catharine's mighty mind; which, ſecure from every power on

on the earth, could act in any voluntary direction. And even envy itself must confess, that she performed her part in the grand drama of the world with a dignity never seen before:— here a kingdom was to be treated as a province of her dominions; there, an independent state to be annihilated by a manifesto: here bounds were to be set to the arrogance of a foreign potentate; there, a gigantic project to be conducted and advanced. All must allow, that she was never forgetful of the interests of her empire: new life and improved organization sprung up beneath her forming hand. But that outward activity disturbed the fixed and steady view of the interior, and kindled at length a war, which though she again triumphantly concluded, yet unnecessarily emptied her exchequer, and wasted her army. Among her neighbours arose jealousy and the desire to hurt, which acquired the legitimate appearance of self-defence. Thus were brought together from all sides the embers of a dangerous combustion, while smiling fortune seemed preparing for the empire the blessings of peace.—Had Catharine shewn a generous scorn for foreign fame, and never engaged in a war; or perhaps more properly, had never self-interest in the mask of flattery encompassed her throne; in all probability history would have had but one

one voice in extolling her as the model for sovereigns.

A politician of great sagacity *, in speaking of the commerce and wealth of Russia, said, many years ago, "Nothing can be more prejudicial to this increase of wealth than foreign "wars, by which perhaps more hard money "goes out of the country than its mines and its "commerce produce. If, on the contrary, this "yearly national profit were employed on the "inner cultivation of the country, far greater "benefit would accrue, even for foreign commerce, than could be obtained by the most "brilliant conquests. Russia should avoid all "wars; and as from her situation as well as by "her power, she is safe from all attacks from "without, she may easily avoid them. Russia "should, as little as possible, take any concern "in the foreign transactions and commerce of "the monarchs of Europe, and direct the whole "of its attention to the increase and extension of "its internal improvement. And though in that "case it is probable that not so much would be "read in the foreign gazettes and political publications about the russian empire as at present; "yet, in return, the russian subjects would

* M. von Struensee, in his "Account of the Commerce of the States of Europe," 1778, part i. p. 505.

"obtain a higher degree of profperity and "happinefs."

But what did not Alexander do, that the idlers in Athens might have fomething to fay of him? In nearly the fame manner Catharine feemed afraid that Europe might forget her, nay, that the name of her empire would be expunged from the catalogue of its ftates. She even thought it neceffary, in the firft paragraph of the firft chapter of her fo frequently mentioned "Inftruction," to make the declaration, "Ruffia is "an european power." Our quarter of the world had afterwards frequently occafion enough to remember that fhe was a party concerned in it.

Germany had particular reafon to know it. Peter III. as duke of Holftein, was a prince of the empire. The Gottorp divifion bordered on the german territories of the king of Denmark: a renewal of the ancient feuds between thefe two kindred houfes threatened to break out; and no plan for an accommodation for the future could ever be brought properly to fucceed. Catharine at length removed the difficulty, and for her very trifling relationfhip in a truly exalted manner. It likewife appeared to her, perhaps, unfuitable, that her fon, now arrived at his majority, as heir to the imperial crown of Ruffia, fhould be at the

fame

ſame time an actually reigning prince in Germany *. In 1773, ſhe propoſed, in her ſon's name, an exchange with the houſe of Denmark, to which it readily agreed, whereby it was to receive the ducal portion † in return for the county of Oldenburg and Delmenhorſt in the circle of Weſtphalia. Theſe latter, therefore, fell to the grand duke; who directly ceded them, without compenſation, to the younger ſon of the Gottorp line, Frederic Auguſtus, biſhop of Lubek, by whoſe imbecil ſon, Peter Frederic William, they are now inherited. The two counties ‡ are eſtimated at 45 ſquare geographical miles, containing 85,000 inhabitants, and yielding an annual revenue of 230,000 rixdollars. So diſintereſtedly did Catharine barter, ſo magnanimouſly did ſhe make preſents. The elder branch of the houſe of Holſtein-Gottorp therefore had no longer a ſeat among the princes of the german empire; but Catharine kept an ambaſſador at the diet of Ratiſbon, whoſe vote was certainly not without conſequence. The empreſs in 1779 ratified the peace of Teſchen concluded

* See the genealogical tables, in the foregoing volume, tab. ii. p. 107.

† Compriſing the city of Kiel, &c.

‡ Converted into a dukedom by the emperor of Germany and the ſtates of the empire in 1776.

concluded between Pruſſia and Auſtria under her guarantee; and more lately inſiſted on being regarded as guarantee of the peace of Weſtphalia; and ſpoke in a very high tone in the laſt diet againſt France.

Nor was the empreſs leſs attentive, at this time, to the public internal ſecurity of the reſidence, and other parts of the empire. Of all political inſtitutions and eſtabliſhments, nothing has a nearer relation to the comfort and ſatisfaction of each individual, than the police. The reſpectable aim of this part of the adminiſtration of government, ſecurity and conveniency, are aſſociated in the grand idea of civil happineſs, without which no political happineſs is to be conceived. The relations with foreign powers, the riches of the ſtate, nay, even political liberty, are far more remotely related to the happineſs of the individual, as they rather concern the whole body of the nation; while the functions of the police relate exactly to thoſe duties which affect a man in his more delicate and tender connections, as a citizen, as a [illegible] of buſineſs, huſband, and father. There are countries in which the citizen, notwithſtanding the great weakneſs and inſignificancy of the body politic to which he belongs, or amid the moſt ſtriking infringements of political liberty, is

 happy,

happy, becaufe his civil fecurity and liberty are guarded; as there are governments in which the greateft national force and the completeft political organization cannot compenfate the individual citizen for the defect or the lofs of a well-regulated police.

Civil fecurity muft prefuppofe civil liberty: otherwife it would produce tranquillity indeed; but it would be like the tranquillity of the grave, the confequences of which are foulnefs and corruption. The former is the refult of combined and artfully-connected aims; whereas the latter is the effect of one fimple maxim. In a word, fecurity is forced from the executive power, liberty may be granted.

The ftate of civil fecurity in every government is an explained problem; the laws, and the means of obtaining it, are objects of public notoriety. The ftate of civil liberty can, in fuch countries as have not a peculiar conftitution, only be known from the combination of a great many particular facts, from the fpirit of the government, from the temper of the people.

In a country which has not the leaft fhadow of a conftitution, in which all the complicate relations of a great civil fociety are afcertained by particular, explicable, frequently contradictory ordinances, and thefe left to the arbitrary

trary interpretation of particular courts; in ſuch a country, perſonal and civil ſecurity can neither be enjoyed as a matter lawfully or aſſuredly eſtabliſhed. In this ſituation was Ruſſia, previous to the reign of Peter the great. The variety of the ordinances of this monarch, far ſuperior to his contemporaries, ſhew that he was ſenſible of the want of a civil conſtitution, and the neceſſity of a perſonal ſecurity, ſettled and fixed by law. Much however as he did towards the attainment of this grand object, much ſtill remained for him to do. "A premature death "obliged him to abandon this ſalutary inſtitute, "while yet in its commencement. The fre-"quent revolutions which ſucceeded, the diver-"ſity of principles and opinions, the numerous "wars that happened, though they by no "means weakened the power and authority of "the empire, yet ſubjected the regulations of "this great emperor either to alterations, or to "a difference in the proſecution of the idea "of the work he had begun, or to the intro-"duction of other rules, which partly took their "direction by particular notions of the matter, "partly by the alteration of circumſtances and "the natural courſe of things*."

* The words of Catharine II. See the ukauſe of the 12th of November 1775, which ſerves as an introduction to the regulation of the adminiſtration of government.

 At

At length the genius of Ruſſia threw the fate of this great empire into the hands of Catharine II. The comprehenſive mind of this monarch, which had already been occupied in the extenſion and eſtabliſhment of its external force, in laying the foundations of a philoſophical ſyſtem of legiſlation, in the improvement of education, in the diffuſion of illumination and taſte, and in the reformation of numberleſs abuſes, and which had not yet exhauſted its energy on theſe grand objects, now formed a conſtitution for Ruſſia *.

The collection of ordinances out of which this conſtitution aroſe, breathe throughout that liberal philoſophical ſpirit, that reverence for mankind and their rights, and that mild, benign temper, equally removed from ſeverity and compliance, which mark the character of the lawgiver, and is its moſt venerable ſanction.

* The ſucceſſive conſtitutions by which Ruſſia obtained an equal and regular diſtribution into vice-royalties, a like civil form, like courts and tribunals, a police, a municipality, ſpecific rights and relations of the middle rank and the nobility; in a word, a conſtitution, are the following:—Ordinances for the adminiſtration of government throughout the ruſſian empire.—Imperial regulation for the mercantile navigation on rivers, lakes, and ſeas.—Of nobility.—Municipality.—Regulations of police. They are tranſlated collectively into german by the court-counſellor Arndt.

The preſervation and advancement of perſonal ſecurity cannot be the laſt object in a law-book of this nature. It provides a peculiar tribunal in the court of conſcience or the court of equity, which is eſtabliſhed in every government of the empire, and which has for its aim, according to the proper words of the ordinance, the preſervation of perſonal ſecurity, the mitigation of the lot of unhappy criminals, and the equitable termination of all civil diſputes. The conſtitution of this highly remarkable inſtitute is too novel, too beneficial, and too little known, to render the omiſſion of a brief account of it pardonable in the preſent undertaking.

The court of conſcience conſiſts of a judge, who preſides, and of ſix members, of whom, every three years, two are elected from the claſs of burghers, and an equal number from the claſs of boors. Each rank has only to do with the accuſer and the accuſed of his rank. The court of conſcience pronounces, in general, according to the laws; but, as it is ordained to be a guard to particular or perſonal ſecurity, the rule preſcribed in all caſes is — general philanthropy, reſpect for man as ſuch, and averſion from all oppreſſion and injury of mankind. For theſe reaſons the court of conſcience muſt never add to the burthens of any man, but rather make

it a duty confcientioufly to difcufs, and to decide with humanity, the caufe before it. It muft never meddle, of its own motion, in any matter, but take it up only from an order of the government, from the communication of another court of juftice, or from petition and complaint. The cafes of fuch criminals as, by fome unhappy accident, or by the concurrence of various circumftances, have fallen into guilt, whofe fufferings far outweigh their demerit, the crimes of thoughtleffnefs or early age, and all ftories of witchcraft and conjuration, arifing from ftupidity, impofture, and ignorance, belong to this tribunal. The duty of it, in civil caufes, is to adjuft the differences of contending parties who appeal to it for that purpofe. The adjuftment is to be made either by the court alone, or in conjunction with arbitrators, chofen by the two parties. If the arbitrators cannot agree together, then the court lays before them its opinion how the accufer and the accufed may be reconciled, without injury, without procefs, controverfy, reciprocal reproach, and chicane. If the arbitrators cannot yet be brought to agreement, then the court orders the accufer and accufed to appear, and lays before them the means of accommodation. If they admit them, the court confirms their agreement with its feal of office: in the

the contrary caſe, it informs them that it has nothing farther to do with their diſpute, and that they may apply to the court appointed by law for that purpoſe.

The moſt important behoof of the court of conſcience, and by which it is in ſome meaſure the moſt venerable tribunal of the nation, and, in the ſtricteſt ſenſe, the palladium of perſonal ſecurity, conſiſts in this: When any one delivers a petition to the court of conſcience, ſpecifying that he has been detained in priſon upwards of three days, and that in theſe three days it has not been ſhewn him why he is thus kept in priſon, or that in theſe three days he has not been interrogated, then the court of conſcience is bound, on receiving ſuch petition, and before the court breaks up, to iſſue an order, that the priſoner (if he be not impriſoned for offences againſt the perſon of the ſovereign, nor for treaſon, murder, theft, or robbery) be brought into the court of conſcience, and be ſhewn, adding the reaſons, why he is detained in arreſt, or why he has not been interrogated. The order of the court of conſcience in this caſe muſt be executed in the place at which it arrives, without loſing an hour; but if the order is not fulfilled within the ſpace of 24 hours, the preſident of the court ſhall be fined in the penalty of 500 rubles, and each of the aſſeſſors ſhall pay a

fine of 100. In regard to local diſtance, 25 verſts are reckoned to a day. — If the court of conſcience finds that the priſoner has not been detained for any of the crimes above ſpecified, it iſſues an order to ſet him at liberty, on the receipt of that voucher, as well for his being brought forth as alſo for his preſentation before that court of the province which he ſhall chooſe, and where his cauſe ſhall be adjudged. No one may pretend to put again in priſon him who has been liberated by authority of the court of conſcience, for their deciſion on the ſame matter: but his cauſe ſhall be determined by courſe of law. But in caſe the petitioner is in confinement on account of any of the before-mentioned crimes, or has impoſed upon the court of conſcience; or can bring no proof, the court of conſcience ſhall remand him to priſon, there to be kept more ſtrictly than before *.

Public ſecurity differs from perſonal, in its having a more general aim. The former is properly the object of the police; the latter is, in moſt countries, committed to the adminiſtration of juſtice.

In proportion to the bulk, extent, and population of Peterſburg, the public ſecurity is as

* See Gemælde von St. Peterſburg, by the ingenious M. Heinrich Storch, for theſe and ſeveral other particulars.

great

great as any where. Robberies and murder are ſo ſeldom heard of, that all thought of danger is entirely baniſhed. Accordingly, people walk alone, without any weapon or attendance, at all hours of the night, along the ſtreets, and even in the remoteſt, moſt unfrequented, and even uninhabited parts of the town. This fact, extraordinary in ſuch circumſtances, is, however, not ſo much the conſequence of a well-organized and vigilant police, as the effect of the good-tempered national character. The common Ruſſian, if not corrupted by a long ſtay in the reſidence, ſeduced by the propenſion to drink, or preſſed by extreme want, is ſeldom diſpoſed to exceſſes of this nature. To this may be added a certain reverence towards the ſuperior ranks, which, from the ſentiment of their vaſſalage, and from the way in which they are brought up, is peculiar to this people. This is ſo well-known, that it is no uncommon thing to put an officer's cockade in the hat as a ſure means of defence againſt any attack a man might otherwiſe be liable to at ſuch times as the populace are accuſtomed to think they have the privilege of being intoxicated, and conſequently are more prone to commit acts of extravagance. An authoritative word, ſpoken in a commanding tone, has frequently more effect than the ſtouteſt oaken ſtaff.

In

In order to employ this method with impreſſion, it is neceſſary indeed to be able to ſpeak the language with fluency; but any one who has that advantage, and is familiar with the manners and the character of the nation, may at any time, in caſes of extremity, excite the good nature of the populace, and ſave his purſe or his life from any hoſtile attack. Among ſeveral inſtances afforded by experience of this, one may ſuffice.

A lady ſome years ago travelled up the country. Her road led through a village which had lately got an ill name for robberies and murders, and indeed was become formidable to the whole diſtrict. By ſome unforeſeen circumſtances, her arrival at this place was delayed till the night was ſomewhat advanced; and as the poſt-boors abſolutely refuſed to drive her any further, ſhe was obliged to put up at a cottage. A converſation between her driver and ſome people of the village, which by favour of the darkneſs ſhe happened to overhear, juſtly filled her with ſerious alarm. On entering the cottage, ſhe perceived ſeveral fellows, according to the cuſtom of the country, lying on the ſtove. An old woman, whoſe phyſiognomy was not exactly adapted to inſpire confidence, accoſted her with the queſtion, why ſhe had heſitated to paſs the night

night in that village, whether it was becauſe ſhe ſuſpected that ſhe might not be ſafe in her houſe? and ſwore, at the ſame time, that there was not a man in it. The traveller, from long experience being well acquainted with the character of the nation, took care not to confute this lie; on the contrary, ſhe diſplayed the moſt perfect confidence, ſat down with the utmoſt compoſure to take ſome refreſhment, brought out a bottle of brandy from her caſe in the ſledge, called down the fellows that were lying on the ſtove, and divided its contents among them. This behaviour, the bottle of brandy, and the friendly looks of the donor, had their due effect: the ſlumbering but not ſtifled ſentiment of humanity awoke; and the good-natured, careleſs, and joyful humour, which is ſo peculiar to the common Ruſſians, ſoon broke out in noiſy ſongs. The traveller, ſeeing that ſhe had attained her aim, laid herſelf down to ſleep in an adjacent room, in all appearance without any diſtruſt, forbad her ſervants to bring the baggage and arms into the houſe, and even put out the light. At break of day ſhe found a ruſſian breakfaſt prepared, and her carriage ready for her farther progreſs. Her departure from this band of robbers was a moral caricature of a moſt ſingular nature. With the confeſſion of their

their criminal way of life, ſhe at the ſame time received from theſe people the aſſurance, that ſhe and all paſſengers that ſhould make uſe of her name, ſhould be well received, and be lodged in ſafety: a promiſe which was accompanied with the rude but undiſguiſed teſtimony of a hearty affection.

The police of St. Peterſburg has a very ſimple and competent organization. Excepting the governor, whoſe office naturally extends to all objects of public welfare, the head police-maſter is the proper chief of the whole ſyſtem of police. His office takes in the great compaſs of this department, but confined to the general objects of public ſecurity and order. He is not here, as in ſome large towns, the formidable co-partner of family ſecrets, and the inviſible witneſs of the actions of the private man. Here are no ſpies, nor ought there to be, if Monteſquieu be in the right *.

Under the head police-maſter is the police-office, where ſit a police-maſter, two preſidents, the one for criminal, the other for civil caſes, and two conſulters choſen from the burgher claſs. To this is committed the care to maintain decorum,

* "Faut-il des eſpions dans la monarchie? Ce n'eſt pas "la pratique des bons princes."—Eſprit des Loix, l. xii. chap. 25.

good

good order, and morals: alſo it is its buſineſs to ſee to the obſervance of the laws, that the orders iſſued by government, and the deciſions of the courts of juſtice, are put in force. The attainment of theſe purpoſes is effected by the following mechaniſm:

The reſidence is divided into ten departments. Each of theſe has a preſident, appointed to watch over the laws, the ſecurity, and the order of his diſtrict. The duties and rights of this office are not leſs extenſive than important. A preſident muſt have exact knowledge of the inhabitants of his department, over which a ſort of parental authority is committed to him; he is the *cenſor morum* of his department; his houſe muſt not be bolted or barred by night or day, but muſt be a place of refuge continually open to all that are in danger or diſtreſs; he himſelf may not quit the town for the ſpace of two hours, without committing the diſcharge of his office to ſome other perſon. The police-commando (conſtables), and the watchmen of his department, are under his orders; and he is attended [illegible] affairs of his office by two ſerjeants. Complaints againſt unjuſt behaviour in the preſident may be brought to the police-office.

Each department is again divided into three, four, or five ſubdiviſions, called quarters, of which,

which, in the whole reſidence, are two and forty. Each of theſe has a quarter-inſpector, in ſubordination to whom is a quarter-lieutenant. The duty of theſe police-officers is in harmony with that of the preſident, only that their activity is confined to a ſmaller circle. They ſettle low affairs and ſlight altercations on the ſpot, and keep a watchful eye on all that paſſes.

The number of the nightly watch in the city amounts to 500. They have their ſtations aſſigned them in watch-houſes at the corners of ſtreets; and, beſides their proper deſtination, are to aſſiſt in the taking up of offenders, and in any ſervice by day or night, as their commanders ſhall require. Beſides theſe, for the execution of the police orders, and to act as patroles, there is alſo a commando of 120 men, who, in caſes of emergency, are ſupported by a pulk or company of koſaks, or a regiment of huſſars.

This machine, conſiſting of ſo many ſubordinate parts, preſerves in its orderly courſe that ſecurity and peace which excite the admiration of all foreigners. The activity of every individual member is unobſerved in the operation of the whole; and by ſuch a diſtribution alone is the attainment of ſo complicated an aim practicable.—All the quarter-inſpectors of a department repair every morning, at ſeven o'clock, to their

their inſpector's houſe, to lay before him the report of all that has happened in their quarters during the laſt four and twenty hours; and at eight o'clock all the inſpectors bring together theſe ſeveral reports into the police-office, whereupon they firſt and immediately take into examination the caſes of perſons taken into cuſtody during the night. On urgent occaſions the police-office aſſembles at all hours.

This organization, and the extraordinary vigilance of the police, which is found competent to the buſineſs of a numerous and reſtleſs people, render all ſecret inquiſitions unneceſſary. The police has knowledge of all perſons in the reſidence; travellers who come and go are ſubject to certain formalities, which render it extremely difficult to conceal their place of abode, or their departure from the city. To this end, every houſeholder and innkeeper is obliged to declare to the police who lodges with him, or what ſtrangers have put up at his houſe. If a ſtranger or lodger ſtays out all night, the landlord muſt inform the police of it at lateſt on the third day of his abſence from his houſe. The cautionary rules, in regard to travellers quitting the town, are ſtill more ſtrict. Theſe muſt publiſh in the news-paper their name, their quality, and their place of abode, three ſeveral

times,

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times, and produce the news-papers containing the advertifement, as a credential in the govern-ment from which they then receive their paff-port, without which it is next to impoffible to get out of the empire. This regulation not only fecures the creditor of the perfon about to depart, but alfo enables the police to keep a clofer infpection over all fufpected inhabitants.

The great mixture of foreign inhabitants of all nations renders this infpection at all times, but efpecially at certain critical periods, highly neceffary. There are always, in large populous towns, diforderly people, adventurers and im-poftors, who, by bold projects, by an infamous induftry, or by criminal ftratagems and tricks, feek occafion to difturb the quiet of civil fociety, or to rifle the purfes of the public. The lenity of the government, the hofpitable reception every honeft ftranger here enjoys, the eafy and various means of gaining a livelihood, and the unlimited permiffion, attended with fo many difficulties in other countries, of purfuing them in a lawful way, without diftinction of nation or religious profeffion;—all thefe and other ad-vantages are, however, not always fufficient to reftrain fuch people within the bounds of pro-priety and decorum.

If

If individuals may be fuſpected by the government, becauſe their means of ſupport, the company they keep, and their whole courſe of action, are cloſely wrapped up in myſtery, ſo likewiſe may whole ſocieties be leſs indifferent to it, if they carefully conceal the object of their connection, or their very exiſtence, from the eye of the public. The police watches here, with laudable attention, over ſecret ſocieties of all kinds; and frequently as the fanatical ſpirit of religious or political ſectaries, or the enthuſiaſm of pretended myſtagogues, have attempted to neſtle here, they have never been able to proceed, or only for a very ſhort time. Animal magnetiſm, Martiniſm, Roſycrutianiſm, and by whatever other name the conceits of diſtempered imaginations may be called, have always been attended with the ſame bad ſucceſs on this ſtage.

With equal diligence the police ranſacks the blind purlieus of ſuch as have an averſion to honeſt induſtry, and are attracted by the thirſt of gain. If the ramparts of civil liberty prevent the police from having recourſe to extreme meaſures for quelling the rage of gaming, yet great difficulties and obſtacles are oppoſed to the propagation and extenſion of this dreadful political evil. By the police regulation only ſuch

 games

games are allowed as require bodily exertion and dexterity, or confift of a due proportion of hazard and fkill. The nicer explanations on this latter are referved for the laws. Concerning prohibited games, the police muft have regard to the motives of the gamefters. All complaints and demands relative to play-debts, and the payment of them, are declared null. That no lotteries are permitted throughout the whole ruffian empire is well known.

From this fketch it will be readily imagined, that the number of impoftors and difturbers of the public peace can be but fmall. Quarrels and affrays in the ftreet or in the cabaks but feldom happen. The perfon attacked calls the neareft watchman; and in a moment both the aggreffor and the aggrieved are taken into cuftody, and led to the next fieja, (police watch-houfe,) where the caufe of their quarrel is inquired into, and the aggreffor is punifhed.—For matters of fome defcriptions, there is a peculiar tribunal, under the denomination of the oral court, which, on account of its fingularity, deferves to be briefly noticed.

In each quarter of the town are one or more judges of the oral court, who are chofen from the clafs of burghers, and with whom are affociated a few jurats. This court fits daily in the forenoon,

forenoon, and proceeds orally in all the differences that come before it: it, however, keeps a day-book, in which are entered all the causes and decisions of the court, and which must be every week laid before the magistrate. When a charge is brought, the court declares it orally to the president of the quarter: whereupon the accused must not delay his appearance before the police longer than one day after he has received the summons. Every cause must be determined in one day, or if the examinations require more time in collecting, in three days. The oral court communicates the decision to the president of the quarter by means of his day-book, in order to its ratification. If either party is not satisfied with the sentence, he may appeal to the court as appointed in the regulations.

The immense circulation occasioned by the necessaries and luxuries of the residence might provide a greater number of people with the means of subsistence. The growing increase of the town, and the great undertakings of the government, which here unite as in one large central point, employ as many hands as are to be had, and would employ more; the facility, therefore, with which work is to be found, and the high price of labour, leave idleness and indigence without excuse. And indeed no

beggars are ſeen here, unleſs one ſhould give that name to a few children who here and there run about, and aſk for a poluſhka. Old, infirm diſtempered people, and ſimilar objects of diſguſt, are abſolutely not permitted to follow begging. For the really poor, and perſons incapable of earning their bread, a poor-houſe is provided, and maintained upon an excellent plan; but for the induſtrious who look out for work, and the idlers that are able to work, the following uſeful and ſalutary regulations are made:

In purſuance of the police ordinance of the year 1782, ſervant-brokers (or, as we ſhould ſay, regiſter-offices) are appointed, where every day, at certain hours, people who ſeek ſervice or work, as well as maſters who want ſervants, may apply. The broker is bound to enter in his book the name, the time, and the requiſites or propoſals of the ſeveral perſons who apply, as alſo the terms of the contract; which book is taken as evidence in caſe diſputes ſhould afterwards ariſe. In order to induce the public to benefit by this inſtitution of ſuch general utility, it is at the ſame time ordained, that the oral court and the police-office ſhall admit of no complaint between maſter and ſervant, if the contract cannot be produced in the broker-book; but ſervants and workmen who neglect to apply to the

the broker, are driven out of the town and the district.

The work-house of the residence takes in not only such people as would willingly work, and find no employment, but is chiefly filled with idlers, vagrants, disorderly persons, sturdy beggars, and thieves who have not stolen above the value of 20 rubles. As such a conjunction of crimes with helpless industry is contrary to the maxims of an enlightened police, so this institution, according to its original destination, was dedicated only to the latter. But because, either from prejudices formed against the institution, or because, as it is most reasonable to think, there is a superfluity of means of livelihood, but very few such persons are found, this institution is almost entirely confined to forced workmen. The superintendance of it belongs to the college of general provision, who, therefore, settle the mode and measure of employment according to the sex, the age, and the bodily frame of each. It is likewise permitted to private persons to send their servants hither for punishment; in this case, however, they must pay three kopeeks a day for each person's board, in addition to the profit on their labour, to the institution. On an average about 800 persons are kept here annually. A small hospital connected with this institution

inſtitution had, on the 1ſt of January 1790, 107 patients of both ſexes.

For criminals condemned to labour by the laws, there is a houſe of correction. This is likewiſe under the management of the college of general proviſion, which endeavours to make the penal labour of theſe people, particularly in regard to manufactures, uſeful to the ſtate. In purſuance of an ordinance of government the houſe of correction is deſtined for the following deſcriptions of civil and moral offenders; for children who are diſobedient to their parents, or habitually purſue bad courſes; for people who having run out their circumſtances, have contracted twice as many debts as they have the means to pay, or are guilty of ſcandalous breaches of decorum; for perſons who publicly follow a courſe of life which is contrary to ſound morals and the regulations of a good police; for worthleſs and lazy rogues and vagabonds; for ſtout and obſtinate vagrants and beggars; laſtly, for women who lead a ſcandalous, impudent, and profligate life.—Offenders of theſe kinds are put into the houſe of correction, either in purſuance of the ſentence of a court of judicature, or at the requeſt of parents, preſidents, or maſters, though not without evidence wherefore. Here alſo private perſons muſt pay a ſlight allowance,

as

as in the work-houſe. The men are ſeparated from the women; and all the people confined muſt be called only by their chriſtian names. The obſtinate and refractory may be chaſtiſed, by order of the head overſeer, by beating, or puniſhed by being ſhut up and kept on bread and water. The annual number of perſons under correction here is between 7 and 900.

Theſe inſtitutions, into which the reſidence diſcharges all its ſluggiſh, foul, and infectious parts, as into a receiver, ſtand in ſo cloſe a connection with the priſons of the courts of judicature, that it would render this account incomplete, to omit the mention of them here.

The new town-jail, which, as far as practicable, is conſtructed and diſpoſed upon Mr. Howard's plan, conſiſts of a large, ſtrong-built, pentagon edifice, of two ſtories. Outwardly it has no windows, and only one gate, which is of iron; each of the five angles is terminated by a tower, which riſes above the roof, and ſerves as a magazine. Each ſtory has only one ſuite of chambers, all opening into a covered gallery. The rooms are diſſimilar in ſize, but are fitted up in exactly the ſame manner. The windows are all placed high; each cell is provided with a cubic ſtove, a ſmall table and ſeat of maſonry, an iron outer door, and in the wall a water-

 cloſet.

closet. In the open place which forms the area of the building, is a smaller prison of the same shape with the larger, which, with cells of a like construction with the others, contains a chapel, a comptoir, a guard-house, and a chamber of correction. The remaining space, in breadth about six fathom, is left for indulging the prisoners in the benefit of taking the air. The whole building has hitherto continued quite empty.

Of the other jails, which are only three, that of the police is the most remarkable. This house, which is commonly called the Politzey, because here the chancery of it was formerly held, is at present the principal place of detention for all delinquents that come within the cognizance of the police. Accordingly, here are kept, previous to their trial, fraudulent insolvents and bankrupts, swindlers, gamesters, bullies, cheats, thieves, and fanatics of all christian sects, and of all nations in motley mixture. This strange collection of beings is productive of no less singular effects. The rich purchase accommodations of the poor; the cunning overreach the simple; separated from all human society, a sort of petty republic is formed within these walls, in which the two grand levers of human activity, indigence and passion, play their

their part as well as without them. Thus, a few years ago, an inhabitant of this manſion picked up money by the myſteries of an order of which he was a member, by admitting, for a ſmall reception-fee, a conſiderable number of worthy proſelytes. Another had been favoured with the permiſſion to ſeparate his ſleeping-place by a ſcreen, where he lived in company with his ſerfs, who, by the duties of their vaſſalage, were obliged to follow him into this abode. Here he gave a friendly reception to all comers, whoſe looks and dreſs ſeemed promiſing, and drew from them what money they had, either at cards or by giving them a goblet or two of ſtrong punch, with ſuch artifice that never any got out of his clutches without leaving behind them, in his lurking corner, whatever they had, and ſometimes even a part of their clothes.—This houſe, which ſeems to harbour within its walls only vice and criminality, at times alſo exhibits ſome noble inſtance of human action, as a few ſcattered rays are ſeen to mingle in the gloomy colours of a painted night-piece. Not for the purpoſe of relieving the ſhades, but as a ſmall memorial of an unknown generous action, the following anecdote may here be permitted to find a place.

A young

A young german nobleman, who had for a long time indulged himſelf in the uſual follies of his age with the utmoſt thoughtleſſneſs and extravagance, was put into the politzey by his creditors. In this deplorable ſituation, abandoned by all his former acquaintance, a damſel of the common claſs, who had ſhared his purſe in better days, remained true to him. She followed him to priſon, waited on him with unwearied care during a violent illneſs with which he was attacked, ſupplied him with all kinds of neceſſaries, ſold, when all her money was gone, what furniture and clothes ſhe had, and at length went about begging for her unfortunate friend. At the end of eleven months, when he was releaſed by death from this unhappy condition, ſhe cauſed him to be decently interred with the remainder of the alms ſhe had procured, and then—conſented to the offer of marriage long ago made her by a man in good circumſtances, with whom ſhe might have enjoyed the conveniencies and pleaſures of life, and which ſhe had hitherto refuſed only becauſe ſhe thought it diſhonourable to forſake her firſt lover in his diſtreſs. This circumſtance ſhe mentioned to her huſband previous to their marriage.

Great

Great as the ſecurity of the city is in regard to acts of open violence, yet it is neceſſary for every one to be upon his guard againſt artful impoſtures and deep-laid ſtratagems. The frequent inſtances of this kind make every Ruſſian wary, and therefore they are not ſo eaſily made the dupes of their countrymen; but ſo much the more do they make up for this at the expence of ſtrangers and foreigners, particularly when they are not acquainted with the language of the country. The ſhopkeepers and merchants commonly aſk three times, and frequently even five times as much as the commodity is worth; the unknowing offer the half, and think they have made a good bargain, till they find, when too late, that they have been miſerably cheated. To give damaged goods a fair appearance, to defraud in meaſure and weight in an imperceptible manner, to ſlip bad goods among the better that have been bought and ordered home; all theſe, and a multitude of other tricks, no dealers in the world underſtand better than the ruſſian. As the Ruſſians in general are ſurpriſingly cunning and of quick parts, they are eminently addicted to this ſpecies of induſtry; and the pickpockets of St. Peterſburg and Moſco may ſafely lay wagers on their dexterity with thoſe of London and Paris.

Some time ſince the following affair happened at Moſco, which excited great curioſity both there and at the reſidence; and, on account of its originality, deſerves to be noticed while we are on this ſubject. A wealthy nobleman, well known as a fancier of precious ſtones, fell accidentally in company with a perſon unknown to him, who wore on his finger a ring of great beauty and value. After a long diſcourſe on its real worth, the nobleman offered him a conſiderable price for it, which the ſtranger at firſt refuſed, on the reaſonable ground that he had no deſire to part with it. At length, however, to evade the repeated importunities of the nobleman, he declared that he could not ſell it, becauſe — the ſtones were not genuine. This declaration filled all the company, among whom were connoiſſeurs, with amazement. The nobleman, in order to be ſure of the matter, deſired to have the ring for a few days againſt ſufficient ſecurity, received it, and ran from one jeweller to another, who all unanimouſly pronounced the ſtones to be genuine, and of great value. With this aſſurance, and the hope of a good bargain, he brought back the ring to its owner, who, on receiving it, put it, with great indifference, into his waiſtcoat pocket. The negotiation now began afreſh: the ſtranger perſiſted

ſiſted in his reſolution, till at length the nobleman offered a ſum which was pretty near the true value of it. "This ring," returned the ſtranger, "is a token of friendſhip; but I am "not rich enough to reject ſo large a ſum as "you offer for it. Yet this high offer is the "very reaſon of my not complying. How can "you, if you are thoroughly conſcious of what "you are doing, offer ſo much money for a "ring, which the owner himſelf confeſſes to be "made up of falſe ſtones?" "If your determination depends only on that," replied the buyer, "here take at once the ſum," (laying it in bank-notes upon the table,) "and I call the "gentlemen here preſent to witneſs, that I voluntarily, and after due conſideration, pay it." The ſeller took the money, and gave the nobleman the ring, repeating the declaration, that the ſtones were falſe, and that it was ſtill time to make the bargain void. The latter obſtinately refuſed to hearken to his advice, haſtened joyfully home, and found — what the reader has already gueſſed — that the ſtranger had ſaid what was too true. Inſtead of the genuine ring, he had a falſe one made exactly like the other. The affair was brought into a court of juſtice; but, as the ſeller proved, that during the whole buſineſs there was no queſtion at all about genuine ſtones;

that

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASVATI

that the purchaser expressly treated only for a false ring, and he on the other hand sold him only a false ring; accordingly the judge was obliged to pronounce in favour of the latter.

The arts of cheating in the article of provisions are no where better understood than here. Ordinary deceptions of this nature happen every where; but when one looks at a fowl, which to all appearance is finely fattened, and finds it only filled with wind; or asparagus, deprived of their eatable part, pointed again and coloured with a tempting verdure; no man will call these ordinary tricks.

A lady, who had not been long come out of Germany, and had heard much from her acquaintance at Petersburg of the many artifices of that nature practised in that city, took the resolution to use the utmost caution in all her dealings, in order to refute the common opinion, that every stranger must buy his wisdom. Several days passed on: one morning, however, a rasnoschtschik * entered her apartment, and offered her a pound of tea, the last remains of what he had to sell. She weighed the parcel, and found it just: she made a trial; the tea was unadulterated, and well flavoured: she shook it

* Rasnoschtschiks are venders of small articles about the streets.

all

all out into a baſin; no deceit was diſcoverable. She inquired the price, and offered a third part of what he aſked: the vender was naturally not ſatisfied with this offer; turned his tea back again into the box, wrapped a cloth about it, and crammed it into his boſom. At length the bargain was ſtruck, and the commodity delivered; however, prudence does no harm; the lady opened the box, and ſaw the tea ſhe had bought. She ſhut it up, to the great joy of the ſeller, who in the mean time had aſked her, ſmiling, why ſhe was ſo extremely cautious, and why ſhe had ſo very bad an opinion of his honeſty. The money was paid; the raſnoſchtſchik went his way; and ſome days after the box was found full of ſand and grains, excepting the ſurface, which was really good tea.

Matters of this kind are frequent in all great towns, where the numerous population renders every detection more difficult, and the diſtance and difference between the circumſtances of fortune rouſe the paſſions, and urge the human intellect to every ſpecies of induſtry. The height of civilization and refinement, as well as the extreme of immorality and corruption, are only to be looked for in towns of the firſt magnitude. The means to prevent theſe evils are not in the hands of the police; no human inven-

tion

tion can hinder an effect where the cauſe is natural; and to remove this, we muſt follow the plan of the philoſophers, who baniſh the human race into foreſts and mountains, where the greateſt integrity reſides with the greateſt brutality.

The public ſecurity is not only brought into jeopardy by human attacks of fraud and violence: Nature alſo ſeems at times to have conſpired againſt it. The reſults of the grand, eternal, and beneficent laws, by which ſhe acts upon the whole, are nevertheleſs very frequently deſtructive to the parts; and man, by an inexplicable decree, is obliged to arm himſelf, as againſt an aſſaſſin, even againſt Nature, from whoſe hand he receives his being, his ſupport, and his enjoyments. The natural and accidental violations of public ſecurity are therefore not leſs an important object of police. An accurate detail of all the particular inſtitutions to this end would lie beyond the limits of this book. The following inſtance, drawn from the whole, will ſuffice as a characteriſtic of this department of the police of St. Peterſburg.

That city, from its ſituation at the mouth of a large navigable river, is very often expoſed to inundations. On a continuance of weſterly winds the water riſes to the height of ten feet above

above its ordinary level. At five feet it overflows only the weſtern parts of the town, in places where the Neva has no rampart; but on a ſwell of the water to ten feet, only the eaſternmoſt parts eſcape a general inundation. In the year 1777, on Sunday the 10th of September, at ten o'clock in the forenoon, the water roſe to the height of ten feet ſeven inches above its uſual level; and though in two hours afterwards it had again retired within its banks, yet this ſhort inundation produced very extraordinary effects. A ſhip from Lubeck was carried into the wood on Vaſſilli-oſtroff; the ducheſs of Kingſton's famous yacht, which ſhe had quitted a few days before, was caſt upon the bar, and greatly damaged; many wooden houſes were waſhed away; and ſeveral perſons had loſt their lives during the obſcurity of the night.

Since this remarkable inundation proper meaſures of prudence and caution have been adopted. For ſeveral years the height of the water had been regularly marked at the caſtle. Now, at all riſings of the river, ſignals were appointed at the admiralty, as a warning to the inhabitants. Whenever it riſes above its banks at the mouth of the great Neva, notice is given to the town by three diſtinct firings of a cannon, which are repeated at intervals, as the danger increaſes. Within the

town, in this caſe, five cannons are fired from the admiralty battery, and on the ſteeple of it by day four white flags are diſplayed, and by night four lanterns are hung out; and at the ſame time the church-bells are ſlowly tolled. In places moſt expoſed to the inundation, veſſels are kept in readineſs for ſaving the people. Theſe regulations, the increaſing buildings, the embanking, and the magnificent ſtone quay of the Neva, and the extenſion of the water-ſurface by the various canals, render theſe weſtern gales leſs alarming to the inhabitants of St. Peterſburg; ſo that a ſwell of five feet above the level now excites but little or even no attention.

Alſo the danger of depredation by fires is no longer ſo great as formerly, as the number of wooden houſes viſibly diminiſhes; and the regulations for extinguiſhing the fires and the ſaving of property are better and more complete. For this purpoſe the police keeps in its pay ten fire-maſters and 1622 men, who are employed ſolely to this object. Calamities of this nature are at preſent but ſeldom heard of; and when they happen, it is commonly in the out-lying parts of the town, where the houſes are moſtly of timber, and very old. During the laſt ſeven years, in the better ſtreets, never more than one houſe is burnt down, and even this is generally of wood.

The people of the police are become so dexterous, that at one of the laſt accidents to which the author of this account was a witneſs, a ſmall wooden houſe that ſtood contiguous to the one on fire, was ſo perfectly preſerved, that it received not the ſlighteſt damage. At the imperial loan bank, is an inſurance-office, where one and a half *per cent.* is paid on three fourths of the annual rate at which the houſe or fabrick is taxed.

Though quick driving along the ſtreets is forbidden, yet from various cauſes it is impoſſible entirely to prevent it; and, for the following reaſons, it is no where attended with leſs danger than at St. Peterſburg. All the ſtreets are broad and ſpacious: their running in ſtraight lines enables the driver to ſee a long way before him; in many of the ſtreets is a raiſed footway, which ſecures the pedeſtrian from danger. Beſides, the Ruſſians are excellent coachmen; and, as they are anſwerable for every accident occaſioned by their negligence or want of ſkill, they not only call out to the foot-paſſengers, while at ſome diſtance, but even turn off in caſes of neceſſity. The manner of their calling too is almoſt always appropriate: for example, "Old gentleman! Good mother! Soldier! Fiſh-cryer!" &c. Not only here, but throughout all Ruſſia, it

it is the universal custom, in driving, to keep the right side of the way; hence the perpetual cry in the streets: "Na prava!" *i. e.* "To the right!" Whoever goes contrary to this custom, is in danger of being chastised on the spot, or at least of receiving a volley of abuse.

On all occasions when a great number of people or equipages are collected together, the police-officers must be present, who, by the assistance of soldiers or kosaks on horseback, keep such good order, that one seldom or never hears of an accident. At the theatres, at court, at the clubs, especially at the entertainments given in the palaces, and at promenades on certain festivals, there are frequently several thousands of carriages and an immense multitude of people on foot: the former observe exactly certain rules prescribed, and the latter may be present without the least danger, even from the tumultuous rabble. He must indeed be a very partial observer, who does not take notice of this extraordinary vigilance and caution, which is always admired by foreigners. At every entertainment, every public dinner in the town, on every occasion where the number of carriages is somewhat considerable, the police-officers are immediately there, for the preservation of order and the prevention of accidents. On the bridges across

acroſs the Neva ſome of them are conſtantly preſent, as there the throng of paſſengers is uncommonly great. The ſame care is taken concerning dangerous ſcaffolds at buildings and at the diverſions of the populace. The ice-hills and other national ſports would certainly coſt many people their lives, were it not for theſe good regulations, by which, however, accidents cannot at all times be prevented; and therefore the government is gradually endeavouring to aboliſh them by limiting the period of their duration. The freezing and breaking-up of the ice of the Neva may be dangerous to the public ſecurity; therefore, on theſe occaſions too, the proper cautionary regulations are not forgotten. As ſoon as the ice begins to be porous and unſafe, care is taken to break it near the ſhores, to prevent paſſengers from getting upon it; and notices are ſtuck upon poſts for the ſame purpoſe. Beſides theſe precautions, the ſoldiers of the police are at theſe times continually preſent, who are frequently obliged to reſtrain by force the fool-hardy populace from venturing their lives for a trifling wager. The writer of this account was himſelf an eye-witneſs of ſuch a man, at the moſt imminent hazard of his life, walking over the porous, deep-grey coloured ice of the river, which is as

 broad

broad as the Thames at London-bridge, by means of a couple of boards which he took with him, laying the one at the end of the other alternately as he paſſed over them, often ſparing himſelf this trouble, on feeling that a piece of the ice would juſt bear his weight without it. In this manner, in the preſence of hundreds of ſpectators, he was got near the oppoſite ſhore, when a police-officer ſtanding there, ſeeing him coming, held up his ſtick, threatening to give him a hearty welcome with it on his reaching the land. The apprehenſion of this ſlight chaſtiſement outweighed the fear for his life; he forgot the precaution he had before obſerved, his boards and his danger; ran back as faſt as he could, and ſafely arrived on the other ſhore.

The making up and the ſending out of medicines from the ſhops of the apothecaries by careleſs or wicked ſervants may ſo eaſily give occaſion to dreadful misfortunes or crimes, that particular prudential regulations are thought neceſſary in this reſpect here. Every recipè, muſt not only be ſigned with the name of the phyſician who preſcribes it, but muſt alſo mention the patient for whom it is preſcribed, with the day of the month and the year. To the medicine a label is affixed, mentioning, beſides this

this date, the price of the medicine, and the name of the apothecary and his ſhop. But the beſt regulation is, that each, even the moſt ſimple medicine, muſt be ſealed. All phyſicians, ſurgeons, and midwives, who intend to practiſe in the ruſſian empire, muſt undergo an examination at the college of medicine, which then grants them a licence; and this licence muſt be publiſhed in the gazette.

Her majeſty's care for the public ſecurity extended alſo to the paſſing of laws and regulations for the prevention of dangerous and contagious diſeaſes, to the inſpection of damaged proviſions, and a multitude of ordinances of like nature; but moſt of them ſo much reſemble what are met with in other countries, that it would be needleſs to give a particular account of them. This ſubject then may properly be concluded by noticing one of the moſt important and intereſting of all the regulations that belong to the general ſyſtem of police.

The reader will recollect, that the publication and enforcement of the decrees of the ſovereign, according to the before-mentioned Inſtruction, is one of the primary duties of the police-office. For the exerciſe of it the following remarkable form was preſcribed by Catharine II. Whenever a law, promulgated by the

autocratic authority, and ſubſcribed by her imperial majeſty's own hand, or an ordinance from the places conſtituted for that purpoſe, is ſent to the police-office, it muſt be entered in the proper books, when, whence, and how it received this law. If it be ſent for publication, then the crown advocate of the police-office is to be called, and his legal opinion taken: if there appear then any doubtful point, it muſt be repreſented in the place appointed; but if no doubt ariſe, then a reſolution muſt be made concerning its publication. This done, the law muſt firſt be read in the aſſembly of the members of the police-office, then with open doors at the preſident of the quarter's houſe, and at the quarter-inſpector's; and hereupon the publication is performed.

The foregoing facts will probably be ſufficient for giving ſome adequate notion of the ſtate of the police in the reſidence, which, for the form and method, is the ſame in all the towns throughout the empire; and, at the ſame time, will ſerve to ſhew the ſpirit which actuated the inſtitutions for which the empire is indebted to Catharine II.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

APPENDIX

TO THE

SECOND VOLUME.

No. I.

SUBSTANCE *of the* TREATY *between the Courts of* PETERSBURG *and* BERLIN, *ratified the* 15*th of April* 1784.

BY articles 1 and 2, a treaty of defenſive alliance, and a mutual guarantee, are agreed to, after reſerving the liberty of concluding other treaties not contrary to the preſent.

3—9. In caſe of a foreign attack, 10,000 infantry and 2000 cavalry are promiſed, three months after the firſt requiſition, to be continued till a ceſſation of hoſtilities. If theſe are not ſufficient, means to be concerted to employ additional force. The troops to be paid, and furniſhed with ammunition, by the party aſſiſting; proviſions and quarters to be furniſhed by the aſſiſted. The troops to receive orders from their own general, and to have their own religion and laws.

10. No peace, &c. to be concluded without mutual conſent.

11. In caſe of war on the part of the aſſiſting party, it ſhall be exempted from furniſhing its quota, or ſhall be at liberty to withdraw its forces, after two months notice.

12. A free commerce between the two ſtates.

13, 14.

13, 14. The treaty to be in force eight years, and renewable before the expiration, according to circumſtances. Ratifications to be exchanged in ſix weeks.

By a ſecret article it is engaged to maintain Poland in its right of a free election, and to prevent all hereditary ſucceſſion.

No. II.

MEMORIAL *of the* PORTE, *delivered in March* 1764, *to the* FOREIGN MINISTERS *at that* COURT, *in relation to the future Election of a King of* POLAND.

AMICABLE MEMORIAL.

NOTICE has been lately given to the ambaſſadors our friends, that it was the intention of the Sublime Porte, that the ancient liberties of the court of Poland ſhould not be encroached upon by foreign courts; that the king of Poland, who is to be ſet up, ſhould be elected and eſtabliſhed in the perſon of a native, as by the concurrence of the republic of Poland; and that no foreigner ſhould be made king. Yet advices received from divers places import, that there is room to think, that diſturbances are raiſed in Poland in order to get a perſon ſet by force on the poliſh throne, who is ſupported by certain powers. Though we are not quite perſuaded of the reality of theſe advices, a memorial has been delivered to each of the miniſters of Ruſſia, Germany, and Pruſſia, importing, that as the Sublime Porte takes it to be honourable to maintain and ſupport the ancient liberties of the Poles; and as the ſame Sublime Porte does not cramp the election that ought to be made of a king in the perſon of a native of the country; the

the Sublime Porte therefore desires, that the other powers will likewise do honour to the liberties of the Poles, and that they will not oppose the election of a king in the person of such Piast (native) as the Poles may judge eligible. In consequence, this notice is given to the ambassadors our friends.

No. III.

PROTEST *against the* POLISH DIET *assembled for the Election of a King, drawn up and signed the 7th May 1764, by twenty Senators; to which Protest forty-five Nuncios afterwards signed an Act of Adherence.*

1. THE diet cannot be held in presence of the foreign troops that surround the city.

2. The senators did not engage the Russians to come; they gave no thanks for their being sent, and have not any way given occasion for their arrival.

3. The Russians have committed an act of violence in Lithuania, by favouring a pernicious confederacy made for disturbing the public tranquillity.

4. It is against all justice, that in the memorial of the Russian ministers, delivered to the primate the 4th instant, the troops of the crown are accused of having meddled in the dietines and other public acts.

5. It is by the unjust proceedings of the same foreign troops, that the general dietine of Prussia has proved abortive; and this is another motive for protesting against this diet.

6. All good patriots, who love justice, are invited to unite for the support of liberty.

At the end of this manifesto there is an adhesion to the protests of the senators, signed by forty-five nuncios.

No. IV.

A DISCOURSE *addreſſed by his* POLISH MAJESTY *to the* PRINCE PRIMATE *and the* MARSHAL *of the* DIET, *in the Cathedral of* WARSAW, *when he received the Diploma of his Election, and took the Oath uſual on that Occaſion.*

IT was not my deſign to ſpeak in public at this time; but, in preſenting me with the diploma of my election, that ſolemn token of the nation's love, you, Mr. Marechal, have exhorted the ſovereign to ſpeak to his people. Theſe words of your diſcourſe oblige me to ſpeak, and to diſcover the feelings that paſſed within me, when the moment approached of taking the oath by which I have now bound myſelf in your preſence. Nay, I am even rejoiced that I have now an occaſion of ſhewing you, Mr. Marechal, together with the ſenators and ſtates of the republic, my real ſentiments, that thus ye may judge whether my views, principles, and actions, will in any wiſe tend to ſatisfy your deſires, and to accompliſh your hopes.

When, by united acclamations, the reſpectable citizens of this vaſt kingdom deigned to confer upon their equal the dignity of monarch, I bowed my head with the moſt profound reſpect in receiving this precious mark of the favour, liberty, and unanimity of this great people.

After my election, the impulſe of gratitude led me to the ſanctuary to pay my homage to the King of kings, becauſe it is there that he is more peculiarly pleaſed with the tribute of mortals. And now that I am again called to the ſame ſanctuary, it appeared to me, while I was approaching to it, that I was called before the throne of him who governs the univerſe, and preſides over the courſe of the revolving ages. At this thought I was filled with awe; my veins alſo trembled when I was obliged to pronounce that irrevocable engagement, in conſequence of which the honour and

and profperity of the polifh nation, and the fafety and happinefs of the individuals that compofe it, are committed to the truft of one man; and I feel fo much the more the weight of this important truft, in that I have long fhared with you the calamities that flow from that want of order, union, and vigour, that has clouded the luftre of this once glorious and flourifhing kingdom. I acknowledge that, in that folemn moment, a difcouraging view of the obligations I was going to contract, and a confcioufnefs of my own infufficiency and weaknefs, made the deepeft impreffion upon me; I was feized with a fort of terror; my voice loft its ufual tone, my tongue faultered, and the words of the regal oath, though dear to my heart, which acquiefces in them perfectly, could not find an utterance: but when I turned my eyes to you, Mr. Primate, when I heard you repeat the words of the oath, I could not behold you in any other light than as the minifter of the Moft High, and therefore thought it my duty to fubmit to your guidance. Since the clamours of difcord and party-hatred have been reduced to filence by your venerable prefence; fince a multitude of tongues, which fpoke each a different language, have become all of a fudden, as it were by a miracle, the unanimous echoes of your's; you muft certainly be filled with the Holy Spirit, that fpirit of power, wifdom, and truth. Hitherto you have been my guide. Be ftill my kind affiftant and counfellor. Continue to cherifh and keep alive the zeal and attachment of thofe loyal hearts which your goodnefs and humanity gained over to my caufe. Let your wifdom and refolution concur with my beft endeavour to hold with dignity, and manage with prudence, the helm of government, at which you been charged by the nation to place me. As the marfhal of the diet has been joined with you in this commiffion, both inclination and duty oblige me to addrefs myfelf to him alfo on this occafion.

You defire me to fpeak, fir, and it is with the utmoft pleafure that I comply with this defire. I thereby have an oppor-

opportunity of declaring that I love and honour your perſon, your virtues, and your talents. This declaration is not the effect of that warm gratitude that impels me to ſpeak to you at this time; it is the effect of a long obſervation of thoſe qualities which have produced one fruit; and may that fruit always prove agreeable to our dear country! You, ſir, are called to appear before the throne, as the repreſentative of that ſpirited and reſpectable nobility, which commands me to govern the republic according to the laws; and it is natural, that I ſhould be deſirous of employing the good offices of one whoſe perſon is ſo agreeable, and whoſe teſtimony is ſo weighty as yours, to aſſure that nobility of the ſincerity of my reſolutions and intentions with reſpect to that important object. Tell that nobility, that it is my fixed purpoſe to employ the remainder of my days, and all the means and opportunities that it ſhall pleaſe the Divine Providence to place within the extent of my power, in anſwering the expectations of my dear countrymen: but at the ſame time exhort them, conjure them, to lend their zealous ſuccours to a ſovereign who has their happineſs and proſperity deeply at heart, and who will never aim at any other object than the public good. Where is the perſon that does not ſee, and alſo feel, the diſorders and calamities under which the nation labours? A diſmal experience points out too plainly the pernicious ſource from whence theſe calamities flow. Self-intereſt and envy have produced diſcord, and thus thrown all things into confuſion. A ſpirit of faction has perplexed our councils, and thus rendered impotent the natural inſtruments of our ſafety and of our glory; and thoſe treaſures that ought to have been employed in maintaining the vigour and ſplendour of this republic, are become the prey of that fatal luxury, whoſe pernicious effects increaſe from day to day. Let our union then heal thoſe calamities, which all other means will be inſufficient to remove! You know by experience, that a few tools of faction can deſtroy with more facility than the

majority

majority can build. Let emulation, that ufeful virtue, that feems to border upon envy, from which neverthelefs it differs extremely, animate our efforts. Let us all run the noble race of patriotifm, and endeavour to furpafs one another, in aiming at true merit, and propofing to ourfelves no other glory but that which is acquired by ferving our country. But to what will amount the defires and the projects of feeble mortals, if they are not feconded by him whofe word commands nations and empires to rife or fall? Great God! whofe hand has raifed me to the high ftation I now fill, thou doeft nothing in vain. Thou haft given me the crown; and thou haft given me with it an ardent defire to reftore this kingdom to its former profperity and grandeur. Finifh, therefore, thy own work! Let my prayer arife to the throne of thee, by whom kings reign! Infpire the hearts of this people with that zeal for the public that fills mine!

No. V.

MANIFESTO *publifhed by the Court of* PETERSBURG, *on occafion of the Death of Prince* IVAN.

BY the grace of God, we Catharine the fecond, emprefs and fovereign of all the Ruffias, &c. to all whom thefe prefents may concern.

When, by the divine will, and in compliance with the ardent and unanimous defires of our faithful fubjects, we afcended the throne of Ruffia, we were not ignorant that Ivan, fon of Anthony, prince of Brunfwic-Wolfenbuttle, and the princefs Anne of Mecklenburgh, was ftill alive. This prince, as is well known, was, immediately after his birth, unlawfully declared heir to the imperial crown of Ruffia;

Ruſſia; but, by the decrees of Providence, he was ſoon after irrevocably excluded from that high dignity, and the ſceptre placed in the hands of the lawful heireſs, Elizabeth, daughter of Peter the great, our beloved aunt of glorious memory. After we had aſcended the throne, and offered up to heaven our juſt thankſgivings, the firſt object that employed our thoughts, in conſequence of that humanity that is natural to us, was the unhappy ſituation of that prince, who was dethroned by the Divine Providence, and had been unfortunate ever ſince his birth; and we formed the reſolution of alleviating his misfortunes, as far as was poſſible. We immediately made a viſit to him, in order to judge of his underſtanding and talents, and, in conſequence thereof, to procure him an agreeable and quiet ſituation, ſuitable to his character, and the education he had received. But how great was our ſurpriſe, when, beſides a defect in his utterance, that was uneaſy to himſelf, and rendered his diſcourſe almoſt unintelligible to others, we obſerved in him a total privation of ſenſe and reaſon! Thoſe who accompanied us during this interview ſaw how much our heart ſuffered at the view of an object ſo fitted to excite compaſſion; they were alſo convinced that the only meaſure we could take to ſuccour the unfortunate prince, was to leave him where we found him, and to procure him all the comforts and conveniences that his ſituation would admit of. We accordingly gave our orders for this purpoſe, though the ſtate he was in prevented his perceiving the marks of our humanity, or being ſenſible of our attention and care; for he knew nobody, could not diſtinguiſh between good and evil, nor did he know the uſe that might be made of reading, to paſs the time with leſs wearineſs and diſguſt: on the contrary, he ſought after pleaſure in objects that diſcovered, with ſufficient evidence, the diſorder of his imagination.

To prevent, therefore, ill-intentioned perſons from giving him any trouble, or from making uſe of his name or orders to diſturb the public tranquillity, we gave him a guard, and placed about his perſon two officers of the garriſon, in whoſe fidelity

fidelity and integrity we could confide. These officers were captain Vlassieff and lieutenant Tschekin, who, by their long military services, which had considerably impaired their health, deserved a suitable recompence, and a station in which they might pass quietly the rest of their days; they were accordingly charged with the care of the prince, and were strictly enjoined to let none approach him. Yet all these precautions were not sufficient to prevent an abandoned profligate from committing at Schlusselburg, with unparalleled wickedness, and at the risk of his own life, an outrage, whose enormity inspires horror. A second lieutenant of the regiment of Smolensko, a native of the Ukraine, named Basil Mirovitch, grandson of the first rebel that followed Mazeppa, and a man in whom the perjury of his anceſtors ſeems to have been infuſed with their blood; this profligate, having paſſed his days in debauchery and diſſipation, and being thus deprived of all honourable means of advancing his fortune; having alſo loſt ſight of what he owed to the law of God, and of the oath of allegiance he had taken to us; and knowing prince Ivan only by name, without any knowledge either of his bodily or mental qualities; took it into his head to make uſe of this prince to advance his fortune at all events, without being reſtrained by the conſideration of the bloody ſcene that ſuch an attempt was adapted to occaſion. In order to execute this deteſtable, dangerous, and deſperate project, he deſired, during our abſence in Livonia, to be upon guard, out of his turn, in the fortreſs of Schluſſelburg, where the guard is relieved every eight days; and the 15th of laſt month, about two o'clock in the morning, he all of a ſudden called up the main guard, formed it into a line, and ordered the ſoldiers to load with ball. Berednikoff, governor of the fortreſs, having heard a noiſe, came out of his apartment, and aſked Mirovitch the reaſon of this diſturbance, but received no other anſwer from this rebel than a blow on the head with the butt-end of his muſket. Mirovitch, having wounded

wounded and arrested the governor, led on his troop with fury, and attacked with fire-arms the handful of soldiers that guarded prince Ivan. But he was so warmly received by those soldiers under the command of the two officers mentioned above, that he was obliged to retire. By a particular direction of that Providence that watches over the life of man, there was that night a thick mist, which, together with the inward form and situation of the fortress, had this happy effect, that not one individual was either killed or wounded. The bad success of this first attempt could not engage this enemy of the public peace to desist from his rebellious purpose. Driven on by rage and despair, he ordered a piece of cannon to be brought from one of the bastions, which order was immediately executed. Captain Vlassieff and his lieutenant Tschekin, seeing that it was impossible to resist such a superior force, and considering the unhappy consequences that must ensue from the deliverance of a person that was committed to their care, and the effusion of innocent blood that must follow from the tumults it was adapted to excite, took, after deliberating together, the only step that they thought proper to maintain the public tranquillity, which was to cut short the days of the unfortunate prince. Considering also, that if they set at liberty a prisoner, whom this desperate party endeavoured to force with such violence out of their hands, they ran the risk of being punished according to the rigour of the laws, they assassinated the prince, without being restrained by the apprehension of being put to death by a villain reduced to despair. The monster (Mirovitch), seeing the dead body of the prince, was so confounded and struck at a sight he so little expected, that he acknowledged, that very instant, his temerity and his guilt, and discovered his repentance to the troop which about an hour before he had seduced from their duty, and rendered the accomplices of his crime.

Then it was, that the two officers, who had nipped this rebellion in the bud, joined with the governor of the fortress, in

in ſecuring the perſon of this rebel, and in bringing back the ſoldiers to their duty. They alſo ſent to our privy counſellor Panin, under whoſe orders they acted, a relation of this event, which, though unhappy, has nevertheleſs, under the protection of Heaven, been the occaſion of preventing ſtill greater calamities. This ſenator diſpatched immediately lieutenant-colonel Kaſchkin, with ſufficient inſtructions to maintain the public tranquillity, to prevent diſorder on the ſpot, (*i. e.* where the aſſaſſination was committed,) and ſent us, at the ſame time, a courier with a circumſtantial account of the whole affair. In conſequence of this, we ordered lieutenant-general Weymarn, of the diviſion of St. Peterſburg, to take the neceſſary informations upon the ſpot; this he has done, and has ſent us accordingly the interrogatories, depoſitions, and the confeſſion of the villain himſelf, who has acknowledged his guilt.

Senſible of the enormity of his crime, and of its conſequences with regard to the peace of our country, we have referred the whole affair to the conſideration of our ſenate, which we have ordered, jointly with the ſynod, to invite the three firſt claſſes, and the preſidents of all the colleges, to hear the verbal relation of general Weymarn, who has taken the proper informations; to pronounce ſentence in conſequence thereof; and, after that ſentence has been ſigned, to preſent it to us for our confirmation of the ſame.

The original is ſigned by her imperial majeſty's own hand. CATHARINE

COPY *of a* DECLARATION *delivered on the 4th of November* 1766, *to the* KING *and* REPUBLIC *of* POLAND, *by Mr.* WROUGHTON, *the* BRITISH MINISTER *at* WARSAW, *in behalf of the* DISSIDENTS *of that Kingdom.*

HIS britannic majeſty, ever excited by reaſonable deſires of protecting by all methods the chriſtian proteſtants, eſpecially

cially thofe who, by virtue of particular conventions, have a right to expect his affiftance, finds himfelf obliged to repeat his preffing reprefentations in favour of that oppreffed part of the polifh nation, known by the name of Diffidents; wherefore the underfigned, in conformity to frefh orders from the king, his moft gracious fovereign, has the honour to reprefent to you, fir, and to the republic of Poland, that his britannic majefty, befides the many folid motives of juftice and humanity, which give him reafon to hope for a happy fuccefs of the prefent negotiations relative to this affair, finding himfelf compelled, by a ftrict alliance with the courts of Peterfburg, Berlin, and Copenhagen, to intereft himfelf in behalf of the Diffidents, in all the forms of law, and in quality of guarantee of the treaty of peace of Oliva, wifhes that, in the prefent diet, this virtuous but unhappy part of the polifh fubjects may be re-eftablifhed, as members of the ftate, in the poffeffion of their rights and privileges, as well as in the peaceable enjoyment of their mode of worfhip, which every one knows belonged to them before the figning of the faid treaty of Oliva. At the fame time his britannic majefty confiders how great is the connection between the interefts even of the republic and the juftice of this affair, as well as the fundamental laws of the kingdom; laws which were not only obferved for two centuries, but renewed by treaties with the northern powers, fo folemn, that they do not permit the leaft alteration to be undertaken, unlefs with the general confent of the contracting parties. For thefe caufes his britannic majefty, filled with confidence of the equity and penetration of his polifh majefty, who, from the beginning of his reign, has given fo many teftimonies of zeal for the happinefs of mankind, and of love towards the adminiftration of juftice in the republic, has not the leaft doubt that his juft defires will no longer be oppofed by references to inefficacious conftitutions, eftablifhed in the midft of inteftine troubles, contradicted by the formal proteftations and exprefs declarations on the part of foreign powers.

Although

Although the rights and privileges of the Diffidents are founded on a doctrine, whofe principles of charity and benevolence make it characteriftical of chriftianity; and the divinity of its inftitutor, who firft preached it, renders it ftill lefs a matter of doubt; yet it is this religion, of which the exercife is difturbed, and of which its profeffors are excluded from all honourable employments, and deprived of all means of ferving their country. Neverthelefs, their rights and privileges have been confirmed to them by many ordinances of the kingdom, fettled by fo many treaties, fupported on foundations fo facred and fo evident to the eyes of all nations, that the underfigned minifter of a monarch who preferves towards the republic the fincereft fentiments of friendfhip, and of inclination to give proofs of them on every occafion, flatters himfelf, that the mediation of the king his mafter will produce the effects which he may naturally promife himfelf; that the wifdom of the nation affembled will afford a remedy to the evils which rend the ftate, and oppress the Diffidents; and that, with regard to things ecclefiaftical and civil, they may be re-eftablifhed in the fituation they were in before the treaty of Oliva. As to the reft, the fincere wifhes of his britannic majefty for the glory of the king of Poland, and for the profperity of the republic, are fo notorious, that it would be ufelefs to give frefh affurances of them. In the meanwhile, the underfigned cannot avoid reiterating them, as an inconteftable proof of their reality.

(Signed) WROUGHTON.

No. VI.

COPY *of a* LETTER *of her* IMPERIAL MAJESTY *of all the* RUSSIAS, *to his Excellency Count* VLADIMIR ORLOFF, *Director of the Academy of Sciences at* PETERSBURG.

MONS. COUNT ORLOFF,

HAVING been informed, that in the ſummer of the year 1769, the planet Venus will paſs over the ſun, I write you this letter, that you may acquaint the academy of ſciences on my part, 1. That it is my pleaſure that the academy ſhould procure the obſervations to be made with the utmoſt care; and that I deſire, in conſequence, to know, 2. which are the moſt advantageouſly ſituated places of the empire that the academy has deſtined for this obſervation; to the end that, in caſe it ſhould be neceſſary to erect any buildings, workmen, &c. may be ſent, and proper meaſures be taken. 3. That if there be not a ſufficient number of aſtronomers in the academy for completing the obſervations in the places pitched upon by the academy, I propoſe, and take upon me to find out, among my marine ſubjects, ſuch as, during the interval between the preſent time and the tranſit of Venus, may be perfected in the habit of obſerving under the eyes of the profeſſors, ſo as to be employed to advantage in this expedition, and to the ſatisfaction of the academy. You will, Mr. Count, tranſmit me the anſwer of the academy, with its full opinion about every thing above, that I may give orders for the whole without loſs of time.

CATHARINE.

Moſco, 3 *March* 1767.

COPY

Copy *of a* Letter *from M.* Ramoffsky *of the Imperial Academy of Sciences at* Petersburg, *to Mr.* Short *of the Royal Society of* London.

Sir,

I expected your letter impatiently, and received it the 1[illegible]th of October. We were fomewhat in doubt as to our anfwering the views of our fovereign, till the arrival of your letter, which diffipated our uneafinefs in refpect of the inftruments. Judge yourfelf, fir, how fatisfactory it was to us to underftand that you would take upon you to procure us the neceffary inftruments, and, moreover, to give us your advice how to proceed fuccefsfully in this important obfervation.

I thank you, fir, in the name of the academy, and on my account efpecially, hoping a more favourable occafion of teftifying my obligations. At prefent, I refer to your judgment the meafures the academy has taken with relation to the tranfit of Venus.

Purfuant to her imperial majefty's orders, in a letter to his excellency count Vladimir Orloff, director of the academy, the copy whereof I herewith fend you; the academy having reprefented, that the propereft places in the ruffian empire for the obfervation of the duration of the tranfit, are Kola, and the parts near it, and for the exit, the borders of the cafpian fea, has befeeched her majefty to be pleafed to fend two obfervers to the north, and two to the Cafpian. The ftations named by the academy are Kola, Solowetfkoi monaftir, Aftrakhan, and Orenburg. The emprefs, in accordance to the reprefentations of the academy, apprehenfive of the precarious ftate of the weather, at the end of May, at Kola and thereabouts, has been pleafed to diftribute four other obfervers among thofe quarters. The academy, availing itfelf of the high protection her imperial majefty has deigned to extend to this enterprife, has deter-

 mined

mined one to Yakoutſk, where the duration will not be $2\frac{1}{2}$ leſs than at Kola, Torneao, and Cajaneburg.

Mr. Wargentin has informed me, that Mr. Mallet of Upſal is preparing for Torneao, and Mr. Planmann for his former Cajaneburg; ſo that this country will be ſo ſecure in ſuch a multiplicity of obſervers, that it may be well hoped that ſome ſtation or other will not fail of affording a complete obſervation of this phænomenon.

St. Peterſburg, 23 *October* 1767.

No. VII.

MANIFESTO *of the* GRAND SIGNIOR, *concerning the War declared by his* HIGHNESS *againſt the* EMPRESS *of* RUSSIA, *delivered the* 30*th of October* 1767, *to the* FOREIGN MINISTERS *reſiding at* CONSTANTINOPLE.

IT may clearly be ſeen by what follows, that the Sublime Porte has ſtrictly obſerved the articles of the peace eſtabliſhed between this empire and the court of Ruſſia, who, on the contrary, has infringed them in many inſtances.

The court of Ruſſia, againſt the faith of treaties, has not deſiſted from building various fortreſſes on the frontiers of the two ſtates, and has provided them with troops and ammunition.

In the year 1177 (or 1763), on the death of Auguſtus the third, king of Poland, the republic of Poland, intending, according to the ſyſtem of the poliſh liberty, to proceed to the election of a king, the court of Ruſſia ſet up for a king a private poliſh officer, in whoſe family there had never been any king, and to whom loyalty was not becoming; and has, by ſiding with this king, intruded on and

traverſed,

traverſed, againſt the will of the republic, all the affairs of the Poles. The Porte having given notice of this to the ruſſian reſident, he declared that the republic of Poland having required a certain number of troops to protect its own liberty, 6000 horſe and 1000 koſaks were granted for that purpoſe, who had neither cannon nor ammunition with them, and were to be under the command of the republic, and that there was not a ſingle ruſſian ſoldier above that number in Poland. Yet, when he was aſked, ſome time after, why the court of Ruſſia had ſent more troops into Poland, and why violence had been uſed on the election of Poniatofsky, ſon of one of the grandees of Poland, the ſaid reſident aſſured, by a writing ſigned with his hand, that his court had not declared for any perſon, nor had ever made uſe of violent means for the election of any one whatſoever. Notwithſtanding this aſſurance and declaration, the court of Ruſſia has been continually ſending troops, cannon, and ammunition, under the command of its own generals, who continued to attack the poliſh liberty, and put to death thoſe who refuſed to ſubmit to the perſon that themſelves had not elected for their king, and who was not the ſon of a king; ſtripping them, with clamour and violence, of their goods and eſtates. Such a conduct being productive of confuſion in the good order of the Sublime Porte, he was given to underſtand that, according to the tenor of the articles of the old and new imperial capitulations, the court of Ruſſia muſt order her troops to evacuate Poland; this the ſaid reſident promiſed by ſeveral memorials ſigned; but this promiſe has not been fulfilled. In the mean time, the Sublime Porte received advice, that ſome ruſſian troops had been ſent to Balta, (one of the muſſulman frontiers,) with ſome artillery, and had unexpectedly attacked the muſſulmans, and maſſacred upwards of a thouſand perſons, men, women, and children.

The Sublime Porte, having again demanded ſatisfaction from the court of Ruſſia for this outrage, which, againſt the tenor of treaties, had been committed with artillery; and

and the khan of Krimea having alſo demanded ſatisfaction for the ſame, the ſaid court denied the fact, alleging that the Haydamacks had done ſome damage, but that care would be taken to puniſh them; although it is notorious that the Haydamacks never make uſe of cannon nor bombs in their irruptions. The Sublime Porte, notwithſtanding, ſtill perſiſted in requiring ſatisfaction for ſuch a conduct, and ſtill demanded the reaſon why the court of Ruſſia would not, theſe three years paſt, withdraw its troops from Poland, ſince the articles of the treaty, concluded in 1133 (1719), and that of 1152 (1738), ſtipulate, "That as often as any event ſhall happen, capable of diſturbing the perpetual peace of the two empires, they ſhould proceed *ipſo facto* to the means of terminating them in an amicable manner;" neverthelefs the outrages and devaſtations at Balta have been denied, and the puniſhment of thoſe who had the boldneſs to be guilty of them, has been poſtponed and even neglected. The ſilence itſelf of the ruſſian reſident, who having been invited to come to the Porte to anſwer for this proceeding, and to declare what his court meant by ſtill keeping its troops in Poland, proves the infraction of the treaty. At laſt he was aſked definitively, whether, according to the ancient and new treaties, which ſubſiſt between the two empires, the court of Ruſſia would deſiſt from meddling with the affairs of Poland, under pretence of guarantee and promiſe: he replied, that his full power was limited, and that he could not anſwer thereupon, ſince that article was known to his court only. Such a behaviour plainly demonſtrates that the above-mentioned power thinks proper to take upon itſelf the infraction of treaties; therefore it is, that the illuſtrious doctors of the law have given by *fetras* (or legal ſentences) their anſwers, that, "according to the exigency of juſtice, it was neceſſary to make war againſt the Muſcovites:" an opinion that has been unanimouſly confirmed. Thus the arreſt of the ſaid reſident being become neceſſary, we give by theſe preſents notice to all the powers of Europe, that the ſaid reſident ſhall be

guarded

guarded in the caſtle of the Seven Towers; and that, during the whole time that this tranſaction has laſted, the Sublime Porte has done nothing that might break the friendſhip, nor any thing contrary to the articles of the treaties concluded between the two empires, &c.

The DECLARATION *of the* IMPERIAL COURT *of* RUSSIA *to the* COURTS *of* EUROPE, *upon the Arreſt of its Miniſter reſident at* CONSTANTINOPLE.

HER imperial majeſty, in taking a part in the tranſactions of the republic of Poland, as humanity on one ſide, and the obligations of her crown on the other, had prompted her, was no leſs careful to conduct herſelf in ſuch a manner as not to give any umbrage to a jealous and powerful neighbour: every part of her conduct was public; and ſhe had likewiſe a particular attention to communicate in confidence to the ottoman Porte her reſolutions upon every ſtep ſhe took, and the conduct ſhe intended to obſerve, till the peace and tranquillity of that kingdom was entirely re-eſtabliſhed. But the enemies to the peace of theſe two empires were not wanting to blacken at the Porte all the actions of her imperial majeſty, and to ſow there the ſeeds of diſcord by the moſt falſe imputations. The Porte, reſtrained by the upright conduct the court of Ruſſia continued to maintain towards them, liſtened, but it was with caution, to the calumny that was ſpread. Some attention to the affairs of Poland, and an impartial examination of what Ruſſia had done, compared with the overtures made by that court at the Porte, had diſpelled all ſuſpicion, and the public tranquillity ſeemed to be no more threatened. The common enemies, however, repeated their inſinuations with more rage and audacity than ever, to impoſe upon the credulity of the turkiſh nation, and infuſed a ſpirit of diſcontent among them, which called for the notice of government; for it had

had forced its way even into the feraglio. The change in the miniftry, brought about by thefe events, foon produced a revolution in the fyftem of peace, equally dear to both nations. The new vizir, upon his advancement, immediately fent for Mr. Obrefkoi, her imperial majefty's refident at the Porte, and, after having caufed to be read in his prefence a declaration full of heavy charges againft his court, part of which have already been invalidated by the moft fair and candid explanations, and others that had never exifted, or were ever thought of, the vizir preffed him to fign immediately, under the guarantee of the allies of his fovereign, fome very offenfive conditions, in regard to which there never had been made the leaft propofal during the whole courfe of the operations in Poland. Thefe conditions, very derogatory to the honour and glory of an emprefs accuftomed to receive no law, propofed in a tone and form repugnant to the freedom of negotiation adopted by every power, were attended with the alternative of an immediate rupture of the perpetual peace between the two empires. The ruffian minifter, confident of the upright intentions of his court, and confcious of the probity of his own conduct, as having fulfilled the duties of a long miniftry, was incapable of unworthily degrading his court and his own character by a humiliating engagement, and which would have exceeded the power and commiffion of any minifter, let them be ever fo extenfive; he gave therefore a pofitive refufal, as became his honour and his duty; and the refolution of the divan, which followed immediately after, was to arreft him, and part of his retinue, and carry him to the caftle of the Seven Towers. It would be needlefs for the imperial court of Ruffia to dwell any longer upon this event, or to enter here into an examination of it. The fact fpeaks for itfelf. The honour and glory of her imperial majefty—the regard to her empire, point out the part it is right for her to take. Confiding in the juftice of her caufe, fhe appeals to all chriftian courts on the

fituation

ſituation ſhe finds herſelf in with regard to the common enemy of chriſtianity, certain as ſhe is, that her conduct will meet with equal approbation from each of them, and that ſhe ſhall have the advantage to join to the divine protection the juſt aſſiſtance of her friends, and the good wiſhes of all Chriſtendom.

No. VIII.

A LETTER *from M.* DE VOLTAIRE, *to the* RUSSIAN AMBASSADOR *at* PARIS.

I SEE by the letters which her imperial majeſty and your excellency honour me with, how greatly your nation is riſing, while I am afraid that, in ſome reſpects, ours is beginning to degenerate. The empreſs deigns herſelf to tranſlate that chapter of Beliſarius, which ſome college-fellows traduce at Paris. We ſhould be overwhelmed with ſhame and ſcorn, if all the men of worth, of whom there is a great number in France, did not ſtrongly ſtand up againſt the egregious ſcandal of the times. Folly, ignorance, and envy, there will always be in any country; but then there will alſo be in it ſcience and good taſte. I dare even aver to you that, in general, our principal military, and, as to what concerns the counſel, our counſellors of ſtate, and the maſters of requeſts, are more enlightened than they were in the ſhining age of Lewis the fourteenth. Great talents are ſtill rare; but ſcience and reaſon are more common than they.

I ſee with pleaſure that there is forming in Europe an immenſe republic of cultivated underſtandings. The light diffuſes and communicates itſelf on all ſides. I have things come to me from the north that aſtoniſh me. Within theſe laſt

last fifteen years there has been operated a revolution in the human understanding, that will form a great epoch. The outcries of the pedants proclaim the approach of this great change, as the croaking of the crows forebodes fair weather.

I know nothing of the book of M. de la Riviere, which you do me the honour of mentioning to me; but can hardly believe that the author, while avoiding the faults into which M. de Montesquieu may have fallen, has gone beyond him in those points in which that shining genius is in the right. I shall send for his book; and in the meanwhile congratulate the author on his being so near such a sovereign and empress, who patronizes all the talents in foreigners, and whose maternal care gives birth to them in her own dominions. But it is you whom I especially congratulate on representing her so worthily at Paris.

I have the honour to be, &c.

No. IX.

COUNTER-DECLARATION *of the* COURT *of* WARSAW.

THE underwritten ministers of the king and republic of Poland, having laid before his majesty the declarations given in on the 18th and 26th of September, by the ministers from the courts of Vienna, Petersburg, and Berlin; and his majesty having taken the advice of his senate thereupon, the underwritten are commanded to make the following answer thereto:

The disinterested and successful pains of her majesty the empress of all the Russias, to preserve tranquillity in Poland during the last interregnum, and promote the free election of the reigning king, universally recognized; the concur-rence

rence of the king of Pruſſia in the ſame deſigns; and the ſyſtem of neutrality at that time adopted by the empreſs-queen; are circumſtances which, appreciated as they ought to be by the king, will never be effaced from his memory or heart.

The king is happy in ſeeing the regulations and internal eſtabliſhments of the diets, immediately ſucceeding the death of Auguſtus III. declared "uſeful and ſalutary" by the three powers: he would ever wiſh the emanations of the ſovereign power of the republic to be regarded with a favourable eye by all his neighbours.

All Europe is long ſince informed of the original and ſucceſſive cauſes of the preſent troubles in Poland: all Europe knows, that the king, and the ſoundeſt part of the nation, exerted their utmoſt endeavours to prevent the riſe and ſtop the progreſs of them; unfortunately theſe efforts have been unſucceſsful; and certainly the conſequences have been dreadful. The ſupreme and legal authority of the ſtate has been denied by ſome; anarchy has ſpread itſelf over the provinces; all Poland has been impoveriſhed, ravaged, trodden under foot, as well by her own citizens, as by foreign troops: ſhe has felt, and all Europe has ſeen, thoſe ſufferings proportioned to the length of time theſe troops have been in the country, the orders of their reſpective courts, and the manner in which their orders have been put in execution.

In a word, five years of ſcourge and deſolation have ruined this country, and make the return of peace a matter of urgent and indiſpenſable neceſſity.

The engagements entered into by the three powers, to co-operate in effectuating this great work, appeared, therefore, full of humanity, and would have been regarded by the king with the livelieſt gratitude, if the latter part of their declaration had left room for any ſentiment but thoſe of the utmoſt ſurpriſe and the moſt profound grief.

These

These courts pretend considerable claims on the unhappy Poland: a plan of indemnification, the actual and effectual seizure of equivalents, are avowed.

The strict attention of the king and republic to fulfil all their engagements with these powers; the laws of good neighbourhood so religiously observed by Poland; the manner, so friendly and full of regard, in which the king has represented, on so many occasions, the different subjects of complaint he had unfortunately had against his neighbours; the present situation of Poland, so worthy in all respects of the compassion of generous and sensible minds; all should have secured to him the return of mutual good-will, and protected him for ever from enterprises so injurious to his rights and the legality of his possessions.

The rights of the republic to all her provinces have every possible mark of solidity and authenticity; an uninterrupted possession of many ages, avowed and maintained by the most solemn treaties, and particularly by those of Velaw and Oliva, guaranteed by the house of Austria, by the crowns of France, England, Spain, and Sweden; by the treaty of 1686, with Russia; by the express and recent declarations of this last power; by those of Prussia in 1764; and lastly, by treaties with the house of Austria, still in full force and vigour; on these foundations the rights of the republic are grounded.

The court of Warsaw contents itself with barely pointing them out at present, reserving the right of supporting them by proofs more ample and particular in time and place.

What titles can the three powers oppose to these? If they are titles dug out of the obscurity of ancient times, of those times of sudden and momentary revolutions, which erected and destroyed, ceded and restored states in the short space of a few months or years; these titles, if admitted, would re-unite to the kingdom of Poland many provinces which formerly belonged to it, but have for many years

been occupied by the very powers who now form pretenſions on her.

But as it is undeniable, that not only tranſactions buried in the oblivion of diſtant ages, but all tranſactions whatever, are annihilated by ſubſequent ſtipulations; as all the latter ſtipulations between Poland and her neighbours oppoſe directly the partition they now would make, it follows, that the titles on which that partition is founded, cannot be admitted, without undermining the rights of every ſtate, without ſhaking every throne from its foundation.

The very powers who declare that the ſituation of Poland will not permit them to obtain juſtice in the ordinary ways of proceedings, cannot be ignorant that its preſent ſituation is accidental and momentary; that it is in their own power to change it. Their conſent alone is wanting to reſtore the republic to the free and lawful exerciſe of its independent ſovereignty. That would be time to produce and examine their claims. This is the method of proceeding which the king had a right to demand from the equity of the three courts, which he could not but expect to be adopted, relying on the letter written to him by the empreſs-queen of Hungary and Bohemia, on the 28th of January 1771.

But the preſent proceedings of the three courts, giving the moſt ſerious object of complaint to the king; and the duties of his crown not permitting him to be ſilent on this occaſion, he declares in the moſt ſolemn manner, that he looks upon the actual ſeizure of the provinces of Poland by the courts of Vienna, Peterſburg, and Berlin, as unjuſt, violent, and contrary to his lawful rights; he appeals to the treaties and powers guarantees of his kingdom and its appurtenances. And laſtly, full of confidence in the juſtice of the Almighty, he lays his rights at the feet of the eternal throne, and puts his cauſe into the hands of the King of kings, the ſupreme judge of nations: and, in the full aſſurance of his ſuccour, he proteſts ſolemnly, and before

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARAS

before the whole univerſe, againſt every ſtep taken, or to be taken, towards the diſmembering of Poland.

Given at Warſaw, Oct. 17th, 1772.

Signed by the great chancellors of Poland and Lithuania.

DECLARATION *of the* IMPERIAL MINISTER *at the* COURT *of* WARSAW.

HER majeſty the empreſs-queen of Hungary and Bohemia has ſeen, with unſpeakable aſtoniſhment, the little impreſſion made by the declaration preſented to his poliſh majeſty by the underwritten, and the miniſters from Peterſburg and Berlin, in order to accelerate a definitive arrangement between the republic and the three neighbouring powers, touching the pretenſions formed by the ſaid powers on Poland; pretenſions which the eſſential intereſts of their crowns will not permit them to expoſe to the hazard of future contingencies, and of thoſe troubles with which Poland has at all times been agitated.

The juſtice and dignity of the three courts preſcribe bounds to their moderation: this truth can neither eſcape the diſcernment of his poliſh majeſty, nor be indifferent to his heart, if the cries of his country have preſerved their influence there.

Her majeſty the empreſs-queen of Hungary and Bohemia hopes, therefore, that the king will not expoſe his kingdom to events which muſt be the conſequences of his delay to aſſemble a diet, and enter on a negotiation, which alone can ſave his country, reſtore vigour to the conſtitution of the republic, which has received ſo many and ſo dangerous ſhocks; and terminate the evils to which private intereſt, ambition, hatred, and diſſentions, have given riſe.

Done at Warſaw, Dec. 4th, 1772.

(Signed) RZEWICKI.

Note.—The miniſters from Peterſburg and Berlin delivered the next day each a declaration in the ſame words.

Answer *of the* Court *of* Warsaw *to the preceding Piece.*

IN anſwer to the declarations of the courts of Vienna, Peterſburg, and Berlin, the underwritten have orders to inform the miniſters of the ſaid courts, that the king, being informed of their deſires reſpecting the convocation of a diet, and of the inconveniencies which may ariſe from delays, is determined to comply, as far as it is in his power, not only with the view of taking away all pretext of aggravating the evils which afflict Poland, but under the hopes that this mark of regard will operate on the generoſity of the three powers, ſo as to induce them to put a ſpeedy end to theſe troubles, in a manner the moſt equitable and advantageous to the republic.

In conſequence hereof, his majeſty has iſſued circular letters for the convocation of a full council of the ſenate, which muſt indiſpenſably precede the ſummoning of a diet; and has fixed the ſame to the 8th of February following; a term which leaves no more than the time abſolutely neceſſary for the arrival of the diſtant ſenators.

Done at Warſaw, this 14th of December 1772.

Signed by the chancellors of Poland and Lithuania.

No. X.

Extract *of a* Letter *from* Catharine II. *late* Empress *of* Russia, *to M.* De Voltaire.

Sir,

THE brightneſs of the northern ſtar is a mere aurora borealis. It is nothing more than giving to a neighbour

 ſomething

ſomething of our own ſuperfluity. But to be the advocate of human kind, the defender of oppreſſed innocence; by this you will be indeed immortalized. The two cauſes of Calas and Sirven have procured you the veneration due to ſuch miracles. You have combated the united enemies of mankind, ſuperſtition, fanaticiſm, ignorance, chicane, bad judges, and the power lodged in them all together. To ſurmount ſuch obſtacles required both talents and virtue. You have ſhewn the world that you poſſeſs both. You have carried your point. You deſire, ſir, ſome relief for the Sirven family. Can I poſſibly refuſe it? Or, ſhould you praiſe me for the action, would there be the leaſt foundation for it? I own to you, that I ſhould be much better pleaſed if my bill of exchange could paſs unknown. Nevertheleſs, if you think my name, unharmonious as it is, may be of any ſervice to thoſe victims of the ſpirit of perſecution, I leave it to your diſcretion; and you may announce me, provided it be no way prejudicial to the parties.

No. XI.

ALPHABETICAL LIST *of the* TOWNS *of the* RUSSIAN EMPIRE, *shewing in what Government they lie, and how many Versts distant from the Residence, from the Metropolis, and from their respective Government Towns, as far as could be collected from the Accounts delivered to* CATHARINE II.

The names of the government towns are distinguished by *italics*.

Towns.	In what government.	Versts from St. Petersb.	Versts from Mosco.	Versts from government-town.
Aktyrka	Kharkoff	1453	723	106
Aklansk	Irkutsk	10497	9767	4674
Alapayefsk	Perme			510
Alatyr	Simbirsk	1358	618	133
Alexandriya	Ekatarinoslavl			184
Alexandrof	Vladimir	824	101	117
Alexandrofsk	Caucasus			150
Alexin	Tula	860	130	60
Alexopol	Ekatarinoslavl			115
Archangel		1145	1236	
Ardatoff	Nishnè-Novgorod			150
Ardatoff on Alatyr	Simbirsk	1337	597	148
Arensberg	Riga	626	1356	319
Arsamas	Nishnè-Novgorod	1120	380	109
Arsk	Kasan	1463	735	55
Asoff	Ekatarinoslavl	1998	1268	625
Astrakhan	Caucasus	2142	1412	630
Atkarsk	Saratoff	1630	902	79
Atschinsk	Tobolsk	4694	3964	1809
Babinovitschi	Mohileff			111
Bachmut	Ekatarinoslavl	1490	760	368
Balachna	Nishnè-Novgorod	1145	415	32
Balaschoff	Saratoff			244
Baltic port	Reval	394	1122	44
Bargusinsk	Irkutsk	6345	5617	524
Belebey	Ufa			139
Beresin	Tschernigoff			36

Towns.	In what government.	Verſts from St. Peterſb.	Verſts from Moſco.	Verſts from government-town.
Bereſoff	Tobolſk	3814	3084	929
Bieleff	Tula	973	239	120
Bielgorod	Kurſk	1356	626	132
Bielitza	Mohileff			194
Bieloy	Smolenſk	709	410	143
Bielopolye	Kharkoff	1585	857	217
Bieloſerſk	Novgorod	569	540	532
Bielovodſk	Voronetſh	1545	803	307
Biezveſk	Tver	625	287	121
Biiſk	Kolhyvan			260
Biryutſch	Voronetſch	1357	617	150
Birſk	Ufa	1927	1197	105
Bobroff	Voronetſch	1265	535	87
Bogatye	Kurſk	1330	600	106
Bogodukhoff	Kharkoff	1471	741	60
Bogoroditzk	Tula	957	227	45
Bogorodſk	Moſco			50
Bogutſchar	Voronetſch	1475	735	238
Bolkhoff	Orel	1020	290	54
Boriſoglyebſk	Yaroſlavl	*	†	32
Boriſoglyebſk on the Vorona	Tamboff	1359	629	152
Borovitſchi	Novgorod	360	454	183
Borofsk	Kaluga	893	163	78
Borſna	Tchernigoff	1396	666	90
Brianſk	Orel	1077	347	138
Bronnitzy	Moſco	781	51	
Bugulma	Ufa	1687	957	220
Buguruſlan	Ufa			279
Buï	Koſtroma	932	396	130
Buinſk	Simbirſk	1462	722	70
Buſuluk	Ufa			375
Cronſtadt	St. Peterſburg	47	777	
Dalmatoff	Perme			510
Daniloff	Yaroſlavl	810	316	63
Dankoff	Riazane	950	220	158
Deſchkin	Orel	1060	330	58
St. Dmitri fort	Ekatarinoſlavl	1968	1238	595
Dmitriyef	Kurſk	1241	511	99

* By the way of Uglitſch 814, by the way of Poſchek 797.

† By the way of Yaroſlavl and Roſt. 273, by the way of Poſchek 265.

Dmitroff

Towns.	In what government.	Versts from St. Petersb.	Versts from Mosco.	Versts from government-town.
Dmitroff	Mosco	702	62	
Dmitrofsk	Orel	1181	451	84
Dnieprofsk	Tavrida			300
Donetzk	Ekatarinoslavl			443
Dorogobush	Smolensk	793	298	86
Doroninsk	Irkutsk	6644	5964	871
Dorpat	Riga	319	1049	230
Driezin	Polotsk	691	697	68
Dukhofshina	Smolensk	727	363	51
Dynaburg	Polotsk	794	800	173
Ekatarinenburg	Perme	2308	1578	358
Ekatarinoslaf		1596	868	
Elizabethgrad	Ekatarinoslavl	1759	1411	211
Epiphan	Tula	962	232	50
Eupatoria	Tavrida			60
Fatesch	Kursk	1193	463	46
Fellin	Riga			241
Frederiksham	Vyburg	326	1056	186
Gadyatch	Tchernigoff	*	†	254
Galitch	Kostroma	919	396	117
Gdoff	St. Petersburg	216	871	
Georgiefsk	Caucasus	2528	1800	60
Glasoff	Viatka			214
Glinsk	Tchernigoff			210
Glukhoff	NovgorodSieverskoi	1280	550	
Goltva	Kief			283
Gordatoff	Nishnè-Novgorod			70
Gorodetz	Polotzk	698	553	144
Gorodischtsche	Pensa			42
Gorodnia	Tchernigoff			50
Gorokovetch	Vladimir	1039	332	157
Gradischtsche	Ekatarinoslavl			136
Griasovetch	Vologda	709	384	42
Giask	Smolensk	581	160	222
Habsal	Reval	456	1126	95
Insara	Pensa	1290	560	89
Irbit	Perme	2683	1953	572
Irkutsk		5823	5093	
Ischim	Tobolsk	2935	2205	344

* *Viâ* Mtzensk and Kursk — — 1450 720

† *Viâ* Smolensk and Baturin — — 1712 982

Towns.	In what government.	Verſts from St. Peterſb.	Verſts from Moſce.	Verſts from government-town.
Iſchiginſk	Irkutſk	10307	9577	4484
Iſium	Kharkoff	1550	820	111
Kadnikoff	Vologda	695	468	42
Kadyi	Koſtroma	950	427	147
Kaigorod	Viatka	1972	1242	246
Kainſk	Tobolſk	3788	3058	903
Kaliaſin	Tver	734	294	168
Kalitva	Voronetch	1421	681	193
Kaluga		890	160	
Kamyſchin	Saratoff	1806	1076	174
Kamyſchloff	Perme			483
Kanadyei	Simbirſk	1537	797	131
Karatſcheff	Orel	1102	372	84
Kargopol	Olonetz	618	1078	342
Karſun	Simbirſk	1423	683	91
Kaſan		1465	735	
Kaſchin	Tver	716	312	150
Kaſimoff	Riaſane	1010	280	140
Kem	Olonetz	885	1479	455
Kerenſk	Penſa	1199	460	135
Kexholm	Viborg	146	876	130
Kharkoff		1421	680	
Kherſon	Ekatarinoſlavl	*	†	290
Kholm	Pleſkoff	336	592	268
Khoperſk	Saratoff	1419	689	
Khorol	Kief			223
Khotmyſhſk	Kharkoff	1455	725	71
Khvalynſk	Saratoff			197
Kieff		1582	852	
Kinburn fort	Tavrida	2091	1361	
Kineſchma	Koſtroma	885	347	83
Kirenſk	Irkutſk	6768	6038	945
Kiriloff	Novgorod	590	495	580
Kirſanoff	Tamboff	1295	565	88
Kirſhatſh	Vladimir	850	123	115
Kiſliar	Caucaſus	2642	1912	
Klimovitſchi	Mohileff			128
Klin	Moſco	648	82	
Kniaginin	Niſhnè-Novgorod			96
* *Viâ* Mtzenſk, Kurſk, and Krementſhuk —		1903	1174	
† *Viâ* Smolenſk, Baturin, Polt. and Krementſhuk		2141	1411	

Kola

Towns.	In what government.	Verſts from St. Peterſb.	Verſts from Moſco.	Verſts from government-town.
Kola	Archangel	1379	2109	1021
Kolmogory	Archangel			
Kologriff	Koſtroma	968	534	254
Kolomna	Moſco	830	100	
Kolyvan		5154	4424	
Konotop	Novgorod Sieverſkoi	1345	615	115
Konſtantinograd	Ekatarinoſlavl	973	864	104
Kopyſs	Mohilef			49
Korop	Novgorod Sieverſkoi			70
Korotoyak	Voronetch	1313	573	80
Korotſcha	Kurſk	1359	629	135
Kortſcheva	Tver			82
Koſchira	Tula	900	170	80
Koſeletz	Kieff	1510	780	72
Koſelſk	Kaluga	940	210	57
Koſloff	Tamboff	1155	425	72
Koſtroma		802	280	
Kotelnitſch	Viatka	1811	1081	95
Kotiakoff	Simbirſk	1404	664	110
Kovroff	Vladimir	964	237	62
Kraſnoborſk	Vologda	1100	1006	580
Kraſnoy	Smolenſk	823	430	46
Kraſnoi-Kholm	Tver	586	326	161
Kraſnoi-Yar	Aſtrakhan	2112	1382	30
Kraſnoyarſk	Kolyvan	4839	4109	1981
Kraſnokutſk	Kharkoff	1508	767	86
Kraſnoſlobodſk	Penſa	1564	834	173
Kraſnouſimſk	Perme	2077	1347	188
Kreſtzi	Novgorod	279	451	93
Krolevetch	Novgorod Sieverſkoi	1319	589	64
Kromy	Orel	1133	403	36
Kropivna	Tula	952	222	40
Kungur	Perme	2051	1323	91
Kupenſk	Voronetch	1663	923	283
Kurgan	Tobolſk	2875	2145	414
Kurmyſch	Simbirſk	1235	500	257
Kurſk		1224	494	
Kuſmodemyanſk	Kaſan	1294	564	181
Kuſnetzk	Kolyvan	4737	4007	
Kuſnetzk	Saratoff			197
Ladoga	St. Peterſburg	150	744	
Laiſcheff	Kaſan			51

Towns.	In what government.	Verſts from St. Peterſb.	Verſts from Moſco.	Verſts from government-town.
Lalſk	Vologda	1110	981	555
Lebedyan	Tamboff	1104	374	177
Lebedin	Kharkoff	1540	810	147
Levkopol	Tavrida			80
Lgoff	Kurſk	1295	565	71
Lichvin	Kaluga	940	210	45
Lipetzk	Tamboff	1162	432	149
Linbim	Yaroſlavl	826	354	101
Liutzin	Polotzk	593	758	164
Livenſk	Voronetch	1403	654	175
Livny	Orel	1090	360	128
Lochvitza	Tſchernigoff	1462	732	210
Lodeinoë Pole	Olonetz	276	809	215
Lubney	Kieff	1505	775	190
Luch	Koſtroma	913	347	129
Luga	St. Peterſburg	135	614	
Lukoyanoff	Niſhnè-Novgorod			158
Makarief	Niſhnè-Novgorod			80
Makarief	Koſtroma	98	474	195
Malmyſh	Viatka			249
Maloarchangel	Orel	1143	413	70
Maloyaroſlavl	Kaluga	847	113	52
Mamadyſh	Kaſan			146
Mariupol	Ekatarinoſlavl			321
Medynſk	Kaluga	869	135	57
Melenki	Vladimir	1040	313	138
Melitopol	Tavrida			220
Menſelinſk	Ufa	1769	1035	236
Meſchtſchofsk	Kaluga	980	250	69
Meſen	Archangel	1445	1575	511
Mglinſk	Novgorod Sieverſkoi			141
Michailoff	Riazane	910	180	59
Mirgorod	Kieff	1784	1054	233
Miropolie	Kharkoff	1515	785	133
Mobileff		751	534	
Mokſchan	Penſa	1368	638	37
Mologa	Yaroſlavl	740	260	110
Morſchanſk	Tamboff	1156	426	88
Moſalſk	Kaluga	940	210	77
Moſdok	Caucaſus		243	34
Moſhaiſk	Moſco	816	99	
MOSCO	*Metropolis*	728		

Mſtiſlavl

Towns.	In what government.	Verſts from St. Peterſb.	Verſts from Moſco.	Verſts from government-town.
Mſtiſlavl	Mohilef	914	501	94
Murom	Vladimir	1022	295	120
Myſchkin	Yaroſlavl	763	209	92
Mzenſk	Orel	1044	314	53
Nakhitſchevan	Ekatarinoſlavl			
Nagaibak	Orenburg	1733	1003	540
Naroftſchat	Penſa	1356	626	125
Narva	St. Peterſburg	145	875	
Narym	Tobolſk	4644	3934	1759
Nedrigailof	Kharkoff	1574	844	195
Nerechta	Koſtroma	846	236	43
Nertſchinſk	Irkutſk	6784	6054	961
Neyſhlott	Viburg	390	1120	250
Nevel	Polotzk	1338	618	99
Nieſhin	Tſchernigoff	1444	714	74
Nikitſk	Moſco		31	
Nikolſk	Vologda	1164	1061	637
Niſhnaia Dievitza	Voronetch	1284	544	57
Niſhnè Kamtſchatka	Irkutſk	11699	10969	5876
Niſhnè Lomoff	Penſa	1339	609	96
Niſhnè Novgorod		1120	390	
Niſhneudinſk	Irkutſk	5348	4618	475
Nolin	Viatka			112
Novgorod		186	544	
Novgorod Sieverſkoi		*	†	
Novomieſto	NovgorodSieverſkoi			144
Novomirgorod	Ekatarinoſlavl			288
Novomoſkofsk	Ekatarinoſlavl			18
Novorſheff	Pleſkoff	478	853	132
Novoſil	Tula	1292	458	176
Oboian	Kurſk	1283	553	59
Obvinſk	Perme			50
Odoyef	Tula	940	210	70
Okhanſk	Perme			67
Okhotſk	Irkutſk	9259	8529	3436
Olekminſk	Irkutſk	7754	7024	1931
Olenſk	Irkutſk	9309	8579	3496
Olonetz	Olonetz	280	874	150
Omſk	Tobolſk	3286	2556	693
* By Star. and Smolenſk — — —		1150	540	
† By Tula and Moſco — — —		1328	598	

Onega

Towns.	In what government.	Verſts from St. Peterſb.	Verſts from Moſco.	Verſts from government-town.
Onega	Archangel	900	1560	232
Opotſcha	Pleſkoff	491	727	137
Oranienbaum	St. Peterſburg	40	768	
Oranienburg	Riazane	1093	363	170
Orel		1097	367	
Orenburg	Ufa	1984	1254	319
Orloff	Viatka	1663	933	51
Orſcha	Mohileff	685	466	66
Oſa	Perme	2020	1290	113
Oſkol, old	Kurſk	1309	579	130
Oſkol, new	Kurſk	1379	639	191
Oſtaſchkoff	Tver	426	347	183
Oſter	Kieff	1532	802	89
Oſtrogoſk	Voronetch	1326	588	95
Oſtroff	Pleſkoff	425	800	56
Pavlograd	Ekatarinoſlavl			202
Pavlofsk	Voronetch	1380	640	150
Penſa		1394	660	
Pereyaſlavl	Kieff	1533	823	78
Perekop	Tavrida			140
Peremyſchl	Kaluga	925	195	28
Pereſlavl Riaz.		910	180	
Pereſlavl Saleſk	Vladimir	759	125	120
Perevolotſchna	Novgorod	2002	1272	50
Perevos	Niſhne Novgorod			90
Perme		1949	1219	
Pernau	Riga	479	1190	72
Petropavlofskoi	Irkutſk	10648	9918	4620
Petrozavodſk	Olonetz	430	1024	
Petrofsk	Yaroſlavl	819	167	76
Petrofsk	Saratoff	1490	760	105
Petſchory	Pleſkoff		807	54
Phanagoria	Tavrida			240
Pinega	Archangel	1245	1288	210
Piriatin	Kieff	1480	750	161
Ples	Koſtroma	856	295	54
Pleſkoff		*	717	
Podol	Moſco	765	35	
Pogar	Novgorod Sieverſkoi	1400	670	64
Pokroff	Vladimir	824	97	78
* By way of Narva	— —	346		
By way of Luga	— —	326		

Polotzk

Towns.	In what government.	Versts from St. Petersb.	Versts from Mosco.	Versts from government-town.
Polotzk		643	1373	
Poltava	Ekatarinoslavl	1535	805	171
Porkhof	Pleskoff	336	694	85
Porietschy	Smolensk	752	430	73
Poschekonia	Yaroslavl	718	314	112
Potschinki	Nishnè Novgorod			212
Povienetz	Olonetz	595	1189	765
Priluky	Tschernigoff	1453	723	
Pronsk	Riazane	950	220	50
Pudash	Olonetz	516	996	240
Putevl	Kursk	1404	674	100
Resitza	Polotzk	619	784	190
Reval		340	1070	
Riashsk	Riazane	1000	270	
Riga		552	1053	
Rogatsheff	Mohileff	1396	636	102
Romanoff	Yaroslavl	796	266	34
Romen	Tschernigoff	1412	682	194
Rosheftvensk	St. Petersburg	79		
Roslavl	Smolensk	880	443	116
Rostoff	Yaroslavl	806	189	54
Rsheff	Tver	631	300	127
Rusa	Mosco	759	88	
Rybnoi	Yaroslavl	806	252	78
Rylsk	Kursk	1340	610	116
Sadonsk	Voronetch	1130	400	85
Samara	Simbirsk	1633	893	177
St. PETERSBURG	*Residence*		728	
Saposhok	Riazane	1030	300	120
Saraisk	Riazane	860	130	56
Saransk	Pensa	1276	546	123
Sarapul	Viatka	1812	1082	380
Saratoff		1632	902	
Saschiversk	Irkutsk	9192	8462	3369
Schadrinsk	Perme	2488	1758	556
Schatzk	Tamboff	1090	360	157
Schenkursk	Archangel	800	848	388
Scheschkeyef	Pensa	1306	576	144
Schlusselburg	St. Petersburg	60	790	
Schtschigry	Kursk	1290	478	50
Schuya	Vladimir	969	239	90
Sebesh	Polotzk	533	718	104

Selenginsk

Towns.	In what government.	Versts from St. Petersb.	Versts from Mosco.	Versts from government-town.
Selenginsk	Irkutsk	6226	5496	403
Semeonoff	Nishnè Novgorod			60
Semipalatsk	Kolyvan	2992	2262	
Semliansk	Voronetch	1204	464	40
Serdob	Saratoff			175
Serdobol	Viburg			238
Sergatsch	Nishnè Novgorod			138
Sergiefsk	Ufa			350
Serpeisk	Kaluga	980	250	82
Serpukhof	Mosco	818	88	
Sevastopol	Tavrida			
Shigansk	Irkutsk	9125	8395	3302
Shisdra	Kaluga	1054	320	156
Sienkof	Tschernigoff			286
Siennoi	Mohilef			151
Sievsk	Orel	1242	512	145
Simbirsk		1485	745	
Simpheropol	Tavrida	2187	1459	
Singileyef	Simbirsk	1519	779	49
Skopin	Riazane	1026	296	88
Slaviansk	Ekatarinoslavl	1440	710	200
Slobodskoy	Viatka	1740	1010	28
Smolensk		716	384	
Solgalitzkaia	Kostroma	799	502	223
Solikamsk	Perme	2227	1497	263
Solotonoscha	Kieff			130
Solotschef	Kharkoff	1459	718	36
Solvytschegodsk	Vologda	1086	988	560
Sophia	St. Petersburg	22	706	
Sosnitza	Novgorod Sieverskoi			
Spask	Kasan			134
Spask	Riazane	966	232	52
Spask	Tamboff	1300	570	209
Staraia Russa	Novgorod	306	664	120
Staritza	Tver	595	237	73
Staro Bykhoff	Mohilef	984	569	38
Starodub	Novgorod Sieverskoi	1083	480	81
Stavropol	Caucasus			
Stavropol	Simbirsk	1589	849	133
Sterlitamazk	Ufa			111
Strietensk	Irkutsk	6866	6136	1043
Subtzoff	Tver	628	280	116

Sudogda

Towns.	In what government.	Verſts from St. Peterſb.	Verſts from Moſco.	Verſts from government-town.
Sudogda	Vladimir	939	212	37
Sudſcha	Kurſk	1315	585	91
Sumy	Kharkoff	1383	653	175
Suraſh	Polotzk	769	558	149
Suraſhſk	Novgorod Sieverſkoi			141
Surgut	Tobolſk	3610	2875	725
Suſdal	Vladimir	936	209	32
Svenigorod	Moſco	718	48	
Sviyabſk	Kaſan	1445	715	30
Syſran	Simbirſk	1565	825	123
Sytſchofka	Smolenſk		219	227
Tagai	Simbirſk	1436	696	49
Taganrok	Ekatarinoſlavl	2036	1306	460
Tamboff		1207	477	
Tara	Tobolſk	3445	2715	560
Taruſa	Kaluga	848	118	62
Temnikoff	Tamboff	1279	549	291
Tetyuſchi	Kaſan	1585	855	85
Theodoſia	Tavrida			
Tichvin	Novgorod	243	744	210
Tim	Kurſk	1243	513	64
Tiumin	Tobolſk	2631	1901	254
Tobolſk		2885	2155	
Tomſk	Tobolſk	4309	3579	1424
Toropetz	Pleſkoff	610	497	347
Torſhok	Tver	503	227	63
Totma	Vologda	889	626	200
Troïtzk	Penſa	1386	656	134
Troïtzk	Ufa			462
Trubtſchevſk	Orel	1166	436	169
Tſchauſy	Mohilef			43
Tſcheboksar	Kaſan	1350	620	124
Tſchelyabinſk	Ufa	2488	1758	400
Tſchembar	Penſa			129
Tſcherdyn	Perme	2321	1591	364
Tſcherekoff	Mohilef			82
Tſcherepovetch	Novgorod			476
Tſcherkaſk	Ekatarinoſlavl	1936	1208	
Tſchernigoff		1124	676	
Tſchern	Tula	970	240	
Tſchernoi Yar	Saratoff	1972	1242	499
Tſchiſtopoliye	Kaſan			125

Towns.	In what government.	Verſts from St. Peterſb.	Verſts from Moſco.	Verſts from government-town.
Tſchuchloma	Koſtroma	920	473	167
Tſchuguyef	Kharkoff	1414	684	34
Tula		912	182	
Turinſk	Tobolſk	2480	1750	405
Turuchanſk	Tobolſk	6190	5460	3305
Tver		568	162	
Tzarevo Kokſhaiſk	Kaſan	1354	624	126
Tzarevo Santſchurſk	Viatka	1414	684	253
Tzaritzin	Saratoff	1772	1042	355
Tzyvilſk	Kaſan	1390	660	102
Ufa		1913	1183	
Uglitſch	Yaroſlavl	734	180	101
Urſhum	Viatka	1631	901	163
Uſman	Tamboff	1226	496	158
Uſtiugvelikoi	Vologda	1000	899	473
Ultioſhna	Novgorod	450	368	357
Uſtſyſolſk	Vologda	1400	1300	876
Valdai	Novgorod	338	392	152
Valk	Riga			149
Valki	Kharkoff	1466	725	53
Valniki	Voronetch	1376	630	208
Varnavin	Koſtroma	1132	666	387
Vaſil	Niſhnè Novgorod	1255	525	144
Veiſſenſtein	Reval			34
Velikiye Luki	Pleſkoff	528	601	259
Veliſk	Polotzk	809	598	189
Velſk	Vologda	870	706	280
Venden	Riga			100
Veneff	Tula	860	130	40
Verchnei Lomoff	Penſa	1339	609	106
Verchoturiye	Perme	2503	1773	540
Verchoudinſk	Irkutſk	6116	5388	295
Verchouralſk	Ufa			3[illegible]
Vereya	Moſco	831	98	
Verro	Riga			236
Veſenberg	Reval			80
Veſyegonſk	Tver	502	406	241
Vetluga	Koſtroma	1084	619	339
Viaſma	Smolenſk	587	221	163
Viaſniki	Vladimir	1022	295	120
Viatka		1815	1085	
Vilmanſtrand	Vyburg	190	920	50

Vitebſk

Towns.	In what government.	Verſts from St. Peterſb.	Verſts from Moſco.	Verſts from government-town.
Vitebſk	Polotzk	729	518	109
Vladimir		902	175	
Volmar	Riga		1171	103
Vologda		689	426	
Voloko Lamſk	Moſco	712	101	
Volſk	Saratoff			110
Voltſchanſk	Kharkoff			60
Voronetch		1220	490	
Voſkreſenſk	Moſco		42	
Vyburg		140	870	
Vyſchnei Volotſchok	Tver	432	298	134
Vytegra	Olonetz	426	876	
Yadrin	Kaſan	1250	520	186
Yakutſk	Irkutſk	8309	7579	2486
Yalutorofsk	Tobolſk	2715	1985	234
Yamburg	St. Peterſburg	121	854	
Yaranſk	Viatka	1706	972	202
Yarenſk	Vologda	1721	1147	721
Yaroſlavl		830	243	
Yegoriefsk	Riazane	814	80	95
Yelabuga	Viatka			373
Yelatma	Tamboff	1055	325	264
Yeletz	Orel	1094	364	183
Yelna	Smolenſk		326	90
Yeneſeiſk	Tobolſk	5032	4300	2147
Yenotaiyefsk	Aſtrakhan	2084	1354	
Yephremoff	Tula	1024	294	112
Yuknoff	Smolenſk		251	194
Yurieff Polſkoi	Vladimir	820	90	50
Yuryevetz Povolſkoi	Koſtroma	974	347	172

No. XII.

List *of* Towns *in the* Empire *of* Russia *erected during the* Reign *of* Catharine II.

In the government of Novgorod:

1. Borovitſchi.
2. Valdai.
3. Kreſtzy.
4. Kiriloff.
5. Tcherepovetch.

Tver:

6. Vyſchnei Volotſchok.
7. Oſtaſchkoff.
8. Koliaſin.
9. Veſiegonſk.
10. Kraſnoi Kholm.
11. Kortſcheva.

Smolensk:

12. Poryetſchiye.
13. Yelnia.
14. Sytſchofka.
15. Kaſplia.
16. Kraſnoi.
17. Rapuſoff.
18. Giatſk.

Kaluga:

19. Schiſdra.

Yaroslavl:

20. Petrofsk.
21. Rybnoi.
22. Myſchkin.
23. Mologa.
24. Daniloff.
25. Boriſogliebſk.

Pleskoff:

26. Petſchory.
27. Oſtroff.

Tula:

28. Bogoroditzk.
29. Tſchern.
30. Kropivna.

Mohilef:

31. Tſchauſy.
32. Staroi Bykhoff.
33. Babinovitſchi.
34. Kopys.
35. Siennoi.
36. Tſcherekoff.
37. Klimovitſchi.
38. Rogatſheff.
39. Bielitza.

Polotzk:

40. Drieſin.
41. Sebeſh.
42. Nevel.
43. Dunaburg.
44. Rieſitza.
45. Liutzin.
46. Veliſh.

47. Goro-

47. Gorodetch.
48. Surash.

KOSTROMA:

49. Vetluga.
50. Makarieff on the Unsha.
51. Varnavin.

RIAZANE:

52. Skopin.
53. Spask.
54. Yegoriefsk.

OREL:

55. Deschkin.
56. Malo-Archangelsk.
57. Dmitrofsk.

VLADIMIR:

58. Alexandroff.
59. Kirshatsch.
60. Pokroff.
61. Koffroff.
62. Sudogda.
63. Viasniki.
64. Melchki.

KURSK.

65. Fatesh.
66. Bogatoi.
67. Schtschigry.
68. Tim.
69. Dmitrief.
70. Lgoff.

NISHNE NOVGOROD:

71. Gorbatoff.
72. Lukoyanoff.
73. Perevos.
74. Makarieff.
75. Ardatoff.
76. Kniaginin.
77. Semeonoff.
78. Potschinki.
79. Sergatsch.

TAMBOFF:

80. Kirsanoff.
81. Morschansk.
82. Spask.
83. Lipetzk.

VORONETCH:

84. Sadonsk.
85. Bobroff.
86. Nishnaia Dievitza.
87. Biryutsch.
88. Livensk.
89. Kalitva.
90. Kupensk.
91. Bogutschar.
92. Bielovodsk.
93. Semliansk.

EKATARINOSLAUF:

94. Ekatarinoslauf.
95. Kherson, fort, haven, and admiralty, not far from the mouth of the Dniepr.
96. Novomoskofsk.
97. Alexopol.
98. Konstantinograd.
99. Slaviansk.
100. Donetzk.
101. Mariupol.
102. Pavlograd.
103. Elizabethgrad.
104. Alexandria.
105. Novomirgorod.
106. Naschitschevan.
107. Berislauf.

VOLOGDA:

VOLOGDA:

108. Velefk.
109. Griafovetch.
110. Kadnikoff.
111. Lalfk.
112. Nikolfk.
113. Krafnoborfk.
114. Uftfyfolfk.

ARCHANGEL:

115. Pinega.
116. Onega.
117. Kolmogory.
118. Schenkurfk.

KHARKOFF:

119. Voltfchanfk.
120. Solotfcheff.
121. Valki.
122. Krafnokutfk.
123. Bogodukhoff.
124. Miropoliye.
125. Bielopoliye.
126. Lebedin.
127. Nedrigailoff.

In St. PETERSBURG Government.

128. Sophia.
129. Rofheftvenfk.
130. Oranienbaum.
131. Luga.

OLONETZ:

132. Petrozavodfk.
133. Povienetch.
134. Vytegra.
135. Kem.
136. Lodeinoe Pole.
137. Pudoga.

VIATKA.

138. Glafofsk.
139. Yelabuga.
140. Malmyfch.
141. Nolinfk.

PENSA:

142. Tfchembar.
143. Gorodifchtfche.
144. Schefchkeyeff.
145. Mokfchan.
146. Troïtzk.
147. Krafnoflobodfk.

SIMBIRSK:

148. Kanadyei.
149. Tagai.
150. Karfun.
151. Kotyakoff.
152. Buinfk.
153. Singileiyeff.
154. Ardatoff on the Alatyr.

SARATOFF.

155. Kvalynfk.
156. Volfk.
157. Kufnetzk.
158. Balafchoff.
159. Atkar.
160. Serdob.

KIEFF:

161. Ofter.
162. Piriatin.
163. Khorol.
164. Goltva.
165. Gorodifchtfche.
166. Solotonofcha.

167. Go-

TSCHERNIGOFF:

167. Gorodnia.
168. Berefin.
169. Glinſk.
170. Lokvitza.
171. Sienkoff.
172. Borſna.

NOVGOROD SIEVERSKOE:

173. Mglinſk.
174. Krolevetch.
175. Pogar.
176. Korop.
177. Soſnitza.
178. Konotop.
179. Novomieſto.
180. Suraſh.

KASAN:

181. Laiſcheff.
182. Spaſk.
183. Schiſtopoliye.
184. Mamadyſch.
185. Arſk.
186. Tetyuſchi.

PERME:

187. Perme.
188. Okhanſk.
189. Obvinſk.
190. Dalmatoff.
191. Kamyſchloff.
192. Alapaiyeff.
193. Oſſa.
194. Irbit.

In the Mosco Government:

195. Voſkreſenſk.
196. Bogorodſk.
197. Bronnitzy.
198. Nikitſk.
199. Podol.

UFA:

200. Menſelinſk.
201. Bugulminſk.
202. Buguraſlanſk.
203. Belebyei.
204. Sterlitamazk.
205. Verchouralſk.
206. Tſchelyabinſk.
207. Troïtzk.
208. Buſuluk.
209. Sergiefsk.

TOBOLSK:

210. Omſk.
211. Iſchin.
212. Kurgan.
213. Yaluturoff.
214. Atſchinſk.
215. Turukhan.
216. Kainſk.

KOLYVAN:

217. Semipalatſk.
218. Kolyvan.
219. Biiſk.

CAUCASUS:

220. Georgiefsk.
221. Alexandrofsk.
222. Yenotaiyefsk.
223. Stavropol.

TAVRIDA:

224. Simpheropol.
225. Eupatoria.
226. Dnieprofsk.
227. Melitopol.
228. Phanagoria.
229. Levkopol.

IRKUTZK:

IRKUTZK:

230. Verchnoudinſk.
231. Niſhnoudinſk.
232. Kirenſk.
233. Doroninſk.
234. Barguſin.
235. Strietenſk.
236. Olekminſk.
237. Olenſk.
238. Shiganſk.
239. Saſchiverſk.
240. Iſhiganſk.
241. Aklanſk.
242. Niſhnykamtſchatſk.

RIGA:

243. Lemſal.
244. Volmar.

REVAL:

245. Baltic port.
246. Veiſſenſtein.
247. Veſenberg.

No. XIII.

NOTE *intended for Inſertion at p. 72, of this Volume, but inadvertently omitted.*

THE ſtruggles of the republicans were of no avail, as they were never unanimous among themſelves. Confederations indeed, in great numbers, ſprung up; from 1767 to 1772, upwards of twenty were reckoned. The moſt remarkable of them was that which was formed entirely ſeparate from all the reſt, by Kraſinſky, biſhop of Kaminietch, who had withdrawn from Warſaw, even before the termination of the diet in 1768, to Baar in Podolia; and was actuated by a ſpirit of the wildeſt fanaticiſm. The ruſſian ſuperiority alſo quickly diſſolved this league; three of its chiefs, Kraſinſky, Pulaſsky, and Potocki, fled into the turkiſh territory. The remnant, however, of this confederation continued in Poland; they declared the throne to be vacant; nay, what would ſcarcely be thought poſſible, they carried off the king from the capital, though ſurrounded by poliſh and ruſſian troops; but a no leſs wonderful

derful event preserved his life and liberty, without sity of foreign assistance.

The confusion was so great, that nothing but battle could bring it to an end. But in order to foreign nations were induced to take part. France was too nerveless a condition for being able to do much: however, Choiseul, by cabals and bribes, found the means to effect something. French soldiers too were sent hither to fight for the independence of Poland against the Russians. Dumouriez gathered here his first, though not very brilliant laurels.

END OF THE APPENDIX.

THE TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI MAHAL.